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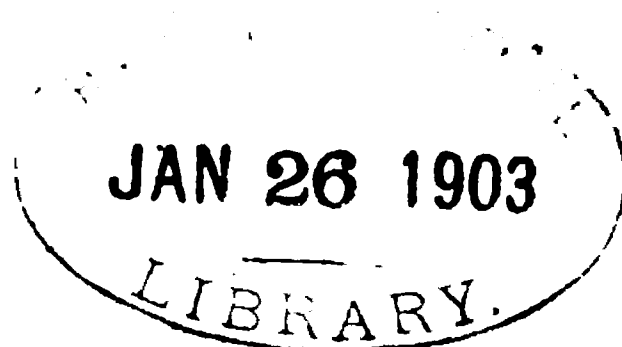
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PREFACE

THE greater part of the contents of the present volume, the fifth in the Publication Series of the Buffalo Historical Society, falls naturally into three classes:

- I. Papers relating to the War of 1812 on the Niagara.
- II. Papers relating to Buffalo harbor, and early trade and travel on the Lakes.
- III. Papers relating to comparatively recent events in Buffalo and vicinity—some of the more important episodes in the local “history of our own times.”

In the group of papers and documents relating to the War of 1812, the Society has been especially fortunate in securing for publication the order-book and some of the correspondence of Maj.-Gen. Amos Hall. For the use of this material special acknowledgment is due to Gen. Hall's granddaughter, Mrs. Samuel Johnson of Dowagiac, Mich. The Hall MSS. contain details of the militia service on the Niagara, and especially of the camp on Eleven-Mile Creek, otherwise Williamsville, not elsewhere to be found. They well show, too, some of the difficulties encountered in supplying the commonest needs of the troops. The correspondence of Lt. Patrick McDonogh, for the use of which the Society is indebted to Miss Isabel O'Reilly, Overbrook, Pa.; the letters of Jonas Harrison, and the reminiscences of Archer Galloway, Gen. Asa Warren and William A. Bird, are all contributions of worth to the records of the War of 1812.

The historical writings of Judge Samuel Wilkeson are in this volume brought together for the first time. While not local in a restricted sense, they relate to a region whose history is closely linked with that of Western New York and the Lakes, and they deal with a most important period, concerning which there are few chronicles by contemporary hands, and probably none which in fidelity to fact and graphic depiction of exciting episode or romantic conditions, surpass in value the record here preserved. Judge Wilkeson's experience in the early lake and river trade forms a fitting prelude to his own account of the first construction of the harbor of Buffalo. That subject is continued and practically completed to date, by the very valuable history of harbor construction and improvement at Buffalo by the United States Government, written for this volume by Maj. Thomas W. Symons, U. S. A., engineer in charge, and Mr. John C. Quintus.

The subject of early lake trade, touched upon by Judge Wilkeson, is most entertainingly continued in the reminiscences of Capts. James Sloan and Augustus Walker. These are substantial contributions to the history of a phase of American development which should receive all possible illumination, and to which this Society hopes to make further contributions in following volumes. Capt. James Sloan, it may be recalled, was a veteran of the War of 1812, one of the leading spirits in the capture of the *Caledonia* and *Adams* in the autumn of 1812. The historian Lossing visited him at his Black Rock home, in 1860, and heard from his own lips the story of that enterprise.

Belonging to the history of recent years, but worthy of the authoritative record here made of it, is the story of the passage of the Niagara Reservation Act in 1885, written by the man best qualified to tell it, the Hon. Thomas V. Welch, superintendent of the Niagara Reservation from its establishment. Of perhaps narrower interest, but forming chapters of no slight importance in the history of Buffalo, is the narrative of the evolution of the city's Public Library, told by one whose name will always be gratefully associated with its work and growth prior to 1897—Mr. J. N. Larned; and, for the later years, by Supt. Henry L. Elmendorf, who represents and is best qualified to write of the free library movement of 1897, and the subsequent development of an institution which has become notable among the free circulating libraries of America.

The other papers and miscellaneous material in the volume have all, it is hoped, sufficient worth to warrant publication. The collection has at least the merit of offering to the student of the history of our region a considerable body of information drawn from contemporary but heretofore unprinted manuscripts. The Society hopes to follow it soon with another volume, for which it has already secured some manuscripts of exceptional value.

The literal publication of documents in many cases has resulted in the misspelling of proper names. These, and such other errors as have been detected, will be found corrected either in the text, in foot-notes, or in the index.

F. H. S.

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BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY BUILDING, SOUTH FRONT, SHOWING GRAND PORTICO.

THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF
CAPTAIN JOHN MONTRESOR

ON THE NIAGARA, AND THE FIRST
CONSTRUCTION OF FORT ERIE.

BY FRANK H. SEVERANCE.

Little attention appears to have been given, by students of the history of the Niagara frontier, to the period shortly after the British had succeeded the French in possession of Fort Niagara. The French relinquished that post in July, 1759. The British garrisoned the fort, and immediately established communication with Fort Pitt by way of Presqu' Ile, now Erie. The following year came Major Robert Rogers and his rangers, with numerous British officers *en route* to Detroit to receive the surrender of the French garrison at that point. There was much coming and going. Sir William Johnson early returned to the scene of his victory over the French; but the traders were ahead of him, eager to seize the opportunities which the conquest had opened. When on his way to Detroit in 1761, he found that a storehouse had been built at the upper landing on the Niagara by Rutherford, Duncan & Co., who were preparing to monopolize the carrying-place around the Falls under authority of a permit from Gen. Amherst. They had discovered a quantity of hand-sawed lumber left by the French in the Chippewa Creek, and were using it to build a small

vessel for the purpose of exploring the unknown shores of the upper lakes. Blockhouses guarded the wharves at the upper and lower landings, the former being known as Little Niagara; windlasses were used for hoisting heavy weights up the heights, and also for helping vessels to overcome the rapids at the head of the river.

But the march across country, from the point at Lewiston Heights to the place of re-embarking above the falls, was all unprotected. The ambushade and massacre at the Devil's Hole, in 1763, was one of the most atrocious episodes of this period. It is also one of the most familiar; and I pass over it to dwell upon the important steps which the British immediately took to prevent its repetition.

This is the period, the reader will recall, when Pontiac was plotting his great blow at the British. Major Gladwin was hemmed in at Detroit until relieved by the expedition of 1763. To make more vivid the conditions of the time and place, on the Niagara frontier and to the westward, I submit the following episode, of which no mention will be found in Parkman or other less valuable chronicles of the times of Pontiac and his conspiracy:

In August or September, 1763, there arrived at Fort Niagara one Lieut. Rutherford, in charge of a vessel which Major Gladwin had sent down from Fort Detroit for goods. Rutherford, who was a mere youth, had just escaped from a long and cruel captivity. In May of that year Major Gladwin of the 80th Regiment, commanding officer at Detroit, being anxious to know whether the lakes and rivers between that place and Mackinac were navigable for vessels larger than the small batteaux then in use, dispatched a small party, under command of Capt. Charles Robson of the 77th Regiment, on an exploring trip. Young Rutherford went with them. They were surprised by the Indians and Capt. Robson and most of the others were killed and scalped. Rutherford, made a prisoner, saw the body of Capt. Robson served up at a feast, and with great difficulty escaped from being compelled to eat of the remains of his friend. His master, Perwash, a Chippewa, made him wear Indian dress, kept him for a time as a slave, then adopted

him, and finally sold him to a Frenchman named Quilleim. He was recaptured by a band of Chippewas, taken before Pontiac, where he acted as interpreter, carried off by King Owasser, chief of the Ottawas, and by him delivered again to Perwash, young Rutherford's former master. He witnessed many atrocities and bore many hardships, and finally, by the aid of a Frenchman, made his escape, running away through the woods at night, clad only in a leathern shirt. His French friend met him at an appointed rendezvous with a canoe and took him down to Detroit.

"The whole town turned out to see me," he afterwards wrote. "My appearance certainly was calculated to excite their pity as well as laughter. I had, as before remarked, nothing but a greasy painted shirt on, my face painted red, black and green, my hair cut all away, and my skin blacked all over with the moss I had put on. My legs were so lacerated with the briars and thorns, and so affected with poisonous vines, that they were swollen as big as any in His Majesty's service. Besides this, to those who inspected me narrowly, my arms presented the appearance or impressions, one of a turkey's foot, the other of a flower in pink or purple dyes. I had thus been tatooed by the savages as a mark set upon me as belonging to their tribe, and such is the indelible effect upon the part punctured, that the impression will remain as fresh through life as on the first day of the operation."

After ten days' rest, Rutherford was sent by Major Gladwin in a vessel bound for the Niagara to procure a supply of provisions for the garrison. "I agreed to run the hazard of the undertaking," he writes, "and accordingly embarked on board the ship. We had some shots fired at us from the Huron Indians going down the river, which we returned. In four days we reached Fort Schelope [Schlosser], near the Falls, and marched under a strong guard to [Fort] Niagara, without experiencing any annoyance from the enemy. It was late before the sloop could be laden and ready to sail again. Some artillery and provisions with about 18 officers and men of the 17th and 46th Regiments, constituted the chief part of what we had on board."

They had only sailed one day from Fort Schlosser, and must therefore have been well at the eastern end of the lake, when the vessel sprung a leak. The heavy artillery and other things were thrown overboard, and after desperate work at the pumps, when everybody was in despair, the sinking ship grounded on a sand-bar within fifty yards of the shore. With great difficulty they landed only to be attacked by the Indians. The refugees fought from behind a temporary breastwork, several of their party being killed before the Indians left them. Here—our hero says they called 'the place Lover's Leap—they stayed for 24 days, awaiting a reinforcement of batteaux to take them back to Niagara. "It was here," wrote Rutherford, "that I first entered upon duty as a private soldier. After we had quitted this position we marched over the carrying-place at the Falls just three days after the Indians had defeated our troops in a rencontre"—that is, the massacre of the Devil's Hole. "We saw about 80 dead bodies, unburied, scalped and sadly mangled. When at Niagara I determined not to attempt fortune longer in the woods, and resolved to go to New York, where after residing some time with my uncle, I proceeded to join the 42d Regiment, in which corps I had obtained an Ensigncy, at the time when they were preparing for an expedition against the Shawanese and Delaware Indians to the westward, under Gen. Bouquet."*

I have given this episode to help make more vivid the conditions of the time. Now, in the spring of 1764, there came to Niagara Col. Bradstreet and his army, on their way up Lake Erie, to force submission on the tribes in the neighborhood of Sandusky and Detroit. The arrival of this army of 1200 men at Fort Niagara, its advance over the portage and its embarkation at Fort Schlosser for Lake Erie, Parkman records in a single page; but of the important work which had been done to make possible this rapid transit from lake to lake and around the great cataract with security against Indian surprise, he says not a word. On that subject, drawing my data from unfamiliar sources, I offer the following narrative.

* For Rutherford's narrative, see *Transactions of the Canadian Institute*, Vol. III.

On Sunday night, May 19, 1764, there arrived at Fort Niagara a man whose coming was to prove of great significance in the Niagara region. This was Capt. John Montresor, His British Majesty's chief of engineers in America. He was a son of that Col. James Montresor, who, as chief military engineer for Gen. Amherst in 1759, had conceived and in part directed the plan, the successful execution of which won Fort Niagara from the French. Capt. John, like his father, was an able engineer, but his long and arduous service for the King in America was but ill-requited. As he is to perform an important work on the Niagara it is well to form his intimate acquaintance.*

He had already served four years at Gibraltar, as an assistant engineer under his father, prior to his departure from England for America, Dec. 24, 1754, in the same ship with Gen. Braddock. At first an ensign in the 48th Regiment, Gen. Braddock soon gave him engineer's rank at ten shillings a day; on July 4, 1755, he was made a lieutenant of the 48th; he received an engineer's commission from Gen. Shirley, May 14, 1756, and thereafter served, according to his own journals, as "engineer and practitioner of engineering," "lieutenant and sub-engineer," "engineer extraordinary and captain lieutenant," and "engineer in ordinary and captain" for ten years. Dec. 18, 1775, he received his special commission from the King as Chief Engineer of America. His American service covered nearly 24 years, in which period he served under 14 commanders in chief, was in 18 actions and made 32 voyages. His journals record a long list of what he terms "special services," many of these being hazardous expeditious against the enemy, carrying despatches, scouting, and well nigh every form of adventure which an intrepid soldier could undertake in wilderness warfare. One of these undertakings was what he termed his "great success in 1763, in relieving the garrison of De-

* My narrative is based on the Montresor journals, the original MSS. of which are still preserved by the family. In 1882 they were in possession of Col. Henry Edward Montresor of Stonely Grange, Huntingdonshire, England, who permitted a copy to be made by Mr. G. D. Scull for the New York Historical Society, which printed them in verbatim journal form in its *Publications* for the year named.

troit with provisions and men, whereby the siege was raised, they having then fourteen days' Indian corn and bear's-grease to subsist on." This expedition brought him to the Niagara apparently in September—his first visit to the region. He reached Detroit Oct. 3d, having been cast away at Presqu' Ile, attacked by Wyandots with a loss of three men, and again on board the schooner in the Detroit River, but this time without loss of life. In the late autumn of 1763 he was again at Niagara, on his way back from Detroit to New York. He reached that city Dec. 16th, and delivered to Gen. Gage dispatches from Col. Gladwin. Lt.-Col. Eyre was then chief engineer. Major Gen. Sir Jeffery Amherst, who had held command in the "Middle British Colonies" (as distinguished from Canada) since 1758, had sailed for England Nov. 19th, nearly a month before Montresor's return.

This service on the Western lakes in 1763 had in a measure prepared our engineer for the task on the Niagara to which he was ordered in 1764. Important as it undoubtedly was, it is but one of the long list of "extra services" which he afterwards enumerated, obviously with a sufficiently high appreciation of what he had done. He was to the fore in the first battle of the Revolution. "I attended Lord Percy from Boston towards the Battle of Lexington," he wrote in his journals. "My advancing some miles in front of his corps with four volunteers, and securing the bridge across Cambridge River, 19th April, 1775; which prevented his Body from going the Watertown Road, whereby the Light Infantry and Grenadiers were not cut off, my having sent one Volunteer back to his Lordship; the town of Cambridge in arms, and I galloped through them." Attempts were twice made, in Boston, to assassinate him. He it was who blew up Castle William, with its batteries and dependencies, in March, 1776. Of the Battle of the Brandywine, Sept. 11, 1777, he writes: "I directed the position and attack of most of the field train; and late in the evening, when the action was near concluded, a very heavy fire was received by our Grenadiers from 6,000 Rebels, Washington's Rear-guard, when Col. Monckton requested me to ride through it to

Brigadier-General Agnew's Brigade, and his 4 Twelve Pounders; which I did time enough to support them; and by my fixing the four 12 pounders, Routed the Enemy." His journals contain a further list, entitled, with his characteristic habit of lapsing into (or affecting) French, "*Des petite services qui ne vaut pas le peine de raconter avec ceux passés*"; among them being the suppression of four mutinies, the conveyance of timely warnings to Gen. Gage and Sir William Howe, etc. In the long list is this picturesque "*petite service*":

"My hearing that the Rebels had cut the King's head off the Equestrian Statue (in the Centre of the Ellipps, near the Fort) at New York, which represented George the 3rd in the figure of Marcus Aurelius, and that they had cut the nose off, clipt the laurels that were wreathed around his head, and drove a musket Bullet part of the way through his Head, and otherwise disfigured it, and that it was carried to Moore's tavern, adjoining Fort Washington, on New York Island, in order to be fixed on a Spike on the Truck of that Flagstaff as soon as it could be got ready, I immediately sent Corby through the Rebel Camp in the beginning of September, 1776, to Cox, who kept the Tavern at King's Bridge, to steal it from thence, and to bury it, which was effected, and was dug up on our arrival, and I rewarded the men, and sent the Head by the Lady Gage to Lord Townshend, in order to convince them at home of the Infamous Disposition of the Ungrateful people of this distressed Country."

I cannot stay to enumerate all his services, either "*grand*" or "*petite*," or his equally long list of grievances, chief of which was that he never obtained higher rank than colonel. In his day "engineers were scarcely considered as belonging to the military service, and did not rise by seniority or obtain army rank. They were called Mr. So-and-So, until the Sovereign as a reward for service, bestowed the honorary rank."* Though there is much in John Montresor's journals that conveys an impression of absurd insistence on the

* G. D. Scull, editor of the Montresor journals for the N. Y. Hist. Soc., 1882.

value of his services, there is much more that testifies to genuine worth and substantial achievement, with scarce a soldier's meager reward. The Montresors served well their cause in the American wars. Allusion has been made to Capt. John's father, Col. James Montresor, who in his time was Chief Engineer in America and died in the British service. They were a family of soldiers, for three generations before Capt. John. He lost two brothers in war, but bought for his three eldest sons commissions in the British Army. His wife lost her father and a brother in the Revolution, and her family were reduced from opulence to poverty through their loyalty to Great Britain.

As for Capt. John himself, he was also impoverished, and after 24 years of service in America returned to England in 1778, with a restless rebel ball in his body, broken in health, and embittered in spirit. He had filled an important command, but was honored by no suitable recognition; others were promoted, but honors were withheld from him. He retired from the army in 1778, and in 1798 had been yet unable to pass his accounts at the Treasury for the expenditures of the Engineering Department between 1774 and 1778. Full satisfaction appears never to have been made. Small wonder that he supplemented his journals with sharp criticism of British officers and operations in America. One of his observations, particularly apropos of Fort Niagara was that the war had "become unavoidably a war of Posts chiefly for the protection of the Loyalists, which ever drew our little army."*

The foregoing are but glimpses of the man who, arriving at Fort Niagara on this Sunday evening of May,

* Capt. John Montresor, afterwards Colonel, was a relative of Susanna Rowson, and is said to have been the prototype of Montraville, the hero of her once exceedingly-popular novel, "Charlotte Temple, or a Tale of Truth" (London, 1790). "Col. John Montresor, while serving in the British army, persuaded Charlotte Stanley, a descendant of the Earl of Derby, to embark with him in 1774 to New York, where he abandoned her. She died in the Old Tree House on Pell and Doyers streets at the age of 19 years, and was buried in the graveyard of Trinity Church. In addition to the inscription, the slab bore the quarterings of the house of Derby, and in after-years the name of Charlotte Temple was substituted for that of Stanley."—*Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, article "Rowson."

1764, led hither the first regiment of Canadians ever raised in the British service; who was to secure the Niagara portage for some seven miles by a chain of redoubts, against the Indians and before the arrival of the troops under Col. Bradstreet; and was to make the first construction of Fort Erie, whose gray ruins, of a much later period of construction, still stand, a picturesque landmark, at the angle of lake and river.

In April of this year he had been ordered to join Bradstreet. On reporting to that officer at Albany his first duty was to make a map of Lake Erie, with distances marked on it. That done, Bradstreet sent him on ahead to fortify the Niagara carrying-place. The orders were that he should proceed from Fort Ontario with 300 Canadians, and 250 light infantry, the whole under the command of Capt. Montgomery. When he reached Fort Ontario on May 2d, he found neither Canadian troops, Indian allies, nor any vessels for transport to Niagara. It was slow work, getting the expedition together. On the 5th, a detachment of 150 of the 17th set off, under Capt. Montgomery. One by one the transports arrived from Niagara: the sloop *Missassagues** the snow *Johnson*, two or three schooners and batteaux; and on the 10th 102 batteaux reached the Oswego River, 22 days from Montreal. This flotilla brought ordnance stores, 2600 barrels of pork and flour, and five companies of Canadian troops under Major Rigaudville, "310 men and a priest"; and the journal which affords these data furnishes a hint of the factional spirit which made itself felt among the troops by the further record that the "Canadian volunteers encamped on the Orange side." The next day Capt.

* Spelled in many ways, not only in Montresor's journals, but in many printed records and narratives. The Jesuit Relations (1670-1) have it *Mississaugué*, designating a tribe of Indians of Algonquin stock who lived to the west of the Niagara. There was for many years a village of them on Chipewa Creek. The point on the west side of the Niagara at its mouth, and the fort which the British built there in 1814, perpetuate the name, now spelled *Mississauga*. It was presumably the name of these Indians—at one period active allies of the British—that was given to the sloop. Whether or not the word is akin to "massasauga," meaning, in some Indian dialects, a species of rattlesnake, I leave to the philological expert. There was a "Mississauga" on Lake Ontario as late as 1796. Probably several lake vessels have borne the name.

Montresor was given command of the battalion of Canadian volunteers. He found them "without tent, Kettle or Tomahawk," but they had been furnished at Montreal with 15 rounds of powder and ball, and 100 rounds in bulk. The following afternoon he exercised them in firing at marks, and finally, after a delay of 12 days at Fort Ontario, he set out at daybreak of the 14th with his Canadian Volunteers, bound for Niagara. They were 20 boats in all, with five days' provisions and 40 spare barrels of pork and flour. Pork and flour, flour and pork, are always with us in this story of Niagara, except on the numerous occasions when this wearisome provision, often spoiled in transit, gave out utterly. The commissariat of these rough days offered few dainties beyond such as the woods and waters might now and then afford. But for the most part the wars on the Niagara were waged on "flour and pork."

For five days Capt. Montresor and his Canadians coasted along Lake Ontario. There was nothing of monotony in the voyage except hard work. The weather was fickle, with head winds and high seas. A captain of a Quebec company and a lieutenant of a Montreal company quarreled and fought a duel, the captain being wounded in the sword arm. Montresor put them both under arrest and honor was no doubt satisfied. But not even this episode added to the spirit of the troops as a whole. Short though the voyage was from Oswego, it must be remembered that it was for most of the men but another weary stage in the long voyage from Montreal, Three Rivers and Quebec. For nearly a month the troops had been in transit. The captain complains that they had become indolent, "careless of their arms and slovenly service, falling sick daily overeating themselves and sleeping in the Sun on the bare ground." Improvidence reduced them to short rations; so that Indians were sent out to hunt, and Capt. Montresor pushed on ahead to Niagara. The detachment came up on the 20th, were put into camp at Johnson's Landing, four miles west of the fort; and here was entered upon another stage in the preparation for Bradstreet's expedition.

The succeeding days were busy ones at Fort Niagara

and up and down the river. Capt. Montresor addressed himself zealously to the task assigned him. On May 22d he sent a detachment of his men with an assistant engineer up to Navy Island, where Capt. Montgomery was in command. Montresor made a reconnaissance of the portage, studying in particular the edge of the mountain, that he might place to best advantage a rope hoist, with cradles above and below, for the raising of provisions, ordnance and ammunition. On the 25th he fixed upon the spot where an entrenchment should be dug for the cradle at the top of the mountain. He doubted that it would work well, and his fears were well founded, for the next day the lower cradle broke down and fourteen barrels of provisions were lost in the river. It was nearly a month before this apparatus gave satisfaction, but by June 20th there were "3 double cradles and several Crabs or Capstans compleated," and by their aid provisions and ammunition were being forwarded over the portage at a rate sometimes exceeding 300 barrels a day.

On May 20th Capt. Montresor's men had come on from Johnson's Landing to Fort Niagara. The following day he let them rest and make up cartridges for the expedition. But there was not much time lost. Soon, in constant procession, the cumbrous batteaux were making their way back or forth along the green reach of river between the fort and the landing at the carrying-place, where navigation ends on account of the rapids, just under the Lewiston heights. Here hundreds of barrels of provisions and all sorts of army stores were soon accumulated, to be hoisted up the heights. One body of Canadians were set to work cutting brush, trimming poles and building a shed on top of the "mountain." By the 29th Capt. Montresor had at work on the portage 656 men, including his Canadian Provincials, regulars, teamsters, Indians and artificers. He had tried in vain to get help from Capt. Montgomery's party on Navy Island; he therefore appealed to Col. Browning for whatever men he could spare from the garrison to help entrench the carrying-place. The yawning gulf of the Devil's Hole was a constant reminder that the massacre of the previous autumn

might yet have a bloody sequel. Strengthening his request by a display of his instructions from Col. Bradstreet, he succeeded in getting 110 men from the 46th Regiment, to protect the carrying-place. Thus reinforced he set about the construction of two redoubts, "the first at 800 yards, the second at 1000 yards further."

On the morning of the 30th, with four companies of Canadian volunteers, one sergeant and 20 men of the 80th and 46th Regulars, he established his posts on the portage, and stationed two 6-pounders, "one at the camp guard on a rising ground fronting the woods, and the other upon the edge of the precipice to scour the cradles, lest the enemy should make an attempt to destroy them." There were constant reports of threatened Indian attacks, but by the 31st the redoubt on the portage was finished without molestation.

On June 1st our engineer pushed on for another stage of his work. Under the protection of a squad of ten regulars and six Canadians for flankers he marked out three more redoubts extending to within three and a half miles of Little Niagara. The next day, Capt. Montgomery having come from Navy Island to take command of the troops, Capt. Montresor pushed ahead and marked out three more redoubts, the last within 800 yards of Fort Schlosser or Little Niagara. That nearest Little Niagara being situated on rocky ground, he was obliged to construct a log work instead of a stockade.

By the 3d of June there was reasonable protection against Indian surprise, and great activity all along the portage. One party was building a log wharf at the lower landing; another was at work on the cradles; detachments were busy at the entrenchments, or escorting provisions; while up on Navy Island a large force of troops were helping the ship-builders or mounting guard against the always-dreaded attack. During this work Capt. Montresor had sometimes crossed the portage "over 6 times a day."

Now came the 4th of June, the King's birthday. Over 700 barrels of provisions were piled up at Fort Schlosser, and for the first time it was deemed safe for the provision

trains to cross the portage without armed escort. It always rejoices the heart of man to have accomplished a task. Something more than loyalty to George III. now warranted a celebration. From Fort Niagara, all along this line of redoubts, to Fort Little Niagara, the woods echoed with salvos from the field artillery. As night came on, rockets were fired from the "grand fort," as Engineer Montresor terms it, bonfires were kindled at the camps along the precipice, loyal toasts were pledged, and soldier songs rose on the mild June air.

Was there ever a holiday not followed by depression and discontent? The second day after the celebration orders came from Fort Niagara recalling to that post the detachment of the 46th and 80th that had been assisting Capt. Montresor and guarding the portage. Only 35 men and an officer were allowed him from the garrison, in addition to his own force. Yet the very day of their recall, June 6th, the tracks of four hostile Indians were discovered in the woods. Capt. Montresor confided a criticism or two to his journal. "A total Discord in the Service at Niagara Fort & in all orders from it," he wrote. "Disunion prevalent more troops than are necessary yet none to spare. In short Disension predominant."

But he pushed the work along with unflagging zeal. While the stores were being gotten over the portage, the brass 6-pounders and boats being hauled by ox teams, the Captain "directed an astronomical survey with a plane Table from Niagara to the Fort at Little Niagara," and on June 8th he began work on the "grand store house" at Little Niagara, the work being interrupted by a fruitless pursuit of "Enemy Indians." The next day was an eventful one. The snow Mohawk, the sloop Missisaugas and two other vessels arrived at Fort Niagara with provisions and 39 horses for use on the portage. These are not the first horses on the Niagara, but there had not been many ahead of them. A party of friendly Indians this day, in passing towards the Fort "never sent any word back after passing the first Redoubt on the Portage until they were near the 2d, thought they were near enough to the Indian Encampment & as

usual began to salute, being loaded with Ball which whistled through the Indian Encampment. They were alarmed and took to the trees & the Garrison taking our new friendly Indians to be Enemies fired, shot 3 through the legs. I ran by desire of Capt. Montgomery and had the Canadians under arms & cut through the woods back to the portage as the Cannon fired & gave the alarm." After the scare was over, no doubt with some chagrin, work was resumed of forwarding supplies up the portage; but it lagged, "the Canadians making 10,000 Difficulties, as usual, did not work $\frac{1}{2}$ the day, on account of Provision, heat Sick, &c. &c." And on this same busy day came orders from Col. Bradstreet directing Maj. Riquandville [*? Rigaudville*] and a part of the Canadians to go to Navy Island for the protection of the shipping, while Capt. Montgomery, 168 Canadians and men of the 17th were to push on to the "Rapids," as the outlet of Lake Erie was then termed. This was a marked advance in the progress of the expedition. Capt. Montgomery and his force left Fort Niagara on June 10th.

For the next ten days Montresor's journal is devoted to his own work—the strengthening of defenses at the redoubts on the portage and at Fort Niagara, the progress of his survey, the coming and going of vessels, and the gathering of Indians; but by the 20th he had heard that Capt. Montgomery and force had fortified themselves on the east shore, at the Rapids—which would be within the present limits of the city of Buffalo. Two vessels had been launched from Navy Island and a third was on the point of readiness. The first one got safely up the Rapids and into Lake Erie, one sailor being drowned. The second schooner was not got up into the lake until July 2d. She was "hailed up by 150 men without the benefit of either wind or the capstans and loaded with Three hundred Barrels of Provisions for Detroit." On the 4th of July the third schooner, the *Charlotte*, which had been damaged at the launching, was hauled up the rapids into Lake Erie; and on the same day the schooner *Gladwin* sailed for Detroit.

On June 22d, another Indian scare disturbed the work all along the Niagara. A man of the Royal Artillery was

found killed and scalped, with the tomahawk sticking in his skull. This happened between the fourth and fifth redoubts, and a mile from the encampment where 100 men, mostly Indians in the British service, were gathered at the time. The tomahawk proclaimed the enemy to be Allegheny Indians. A party of 30 set out in immediate pursuit, but failing to track the assailants returned to camp. That night a larger party, 60 men with three batteaux, renewed the pursuit. They made their way up the difficult rapids, out into Lake Erie, around the bar at the mouth of Buffalo Creek, and so up that stream, on the theory that the marauders would have left their canoes in Buffalo Creek, and might be intercepted there on their return. Two days later the pursuers, who had divided into two parties, returned crest-fallen to camp, having found no trace of the wily and audacious foe.

It is worth noting, in passing, that in his journal, June 22, 1764, Capt. Montresor gives "Buffalo Creek" the same spelling it bears today. I know of no earlier mention of the stream, regarding the origin of whose name so many conjectures have been made.

There were other attacks by hostile Indians, during the weeks that followed; they tried to steal the cattle that were turned out to graze; but beyond wounding a soldier or two, no harm was done. "The Enemy," wrote Montresor, "neglected a decisive blow by cutting off the cattle before the redoubts were constructed on the portage." As the summer advanced, the activity increased, especially at the upper end of the portage and thence to Lake Erie. Ox teams and horses were hauling provisions and munitions of war. The portage road was improved. Capt. Montresor made an exact measurement of it. He ascertained that the carrying-place, from Fort Niagara to Fort Little Niagara, was 25,620 yards long, or 14 miles and 95 yards. The portage proper from the fortification at the lower landing under Lewiston Heights to Fort Little Niagara, was five miles, 1200 yards. By the 28th of June a vast quantity of stores had been forwarded over this road; on that day 4791 barrels of provisions lay piled up at Little Niagara or were on their way

to the Rapids; besides barrels of powder and ammunition, iron, nails and other equipment for the vessels, ordnance, soldiers' baggage and the usual necessities for an advancing army. There being but few axes found in the stores, Capt. Montresor bought from the Indian traders a quantity of large tomahawks. All this freight made necessary the construction of a wharf at Little Niagara 100 feet long, so that the long boats could be loaded with facility. By the end of June, there being no more provisions to get over the portage, the ox teams and wagons were frequently unemployed, and part of the "cattle" were put to work hauling timber for the wharf, which was begun on July 2d. On the 6th, Capt. Montresor returned to Fort Niagara; and at 7 o'clock the next morning the Mohawk arrived with Col. Bradstreet on board—"very ill, also the Commodore, the Commissary of Musters, Surgeon of the Hospital and Brigade Major." Their vessel had left Fort Ontario on the evening of the 3d with the rest of the army, most of which did not reach the Niagara until the 9th of July.

As soon as Col. Bradstreet had recovered from the disturbing effects of Lake Ontario's waves and was ready for business Capt. Montresor waited on him at the fort and delivered a detailed report of what had been done under his charge at the forts and on the portage; and that evening received from his superior officer orders for an important new undertaking. "You will proceed tomorrow at daylight," said Col. Bradstreet, "to the outlet of Lake Erie. Make examination of the discharge above the rapids and select a proper place for fortification. It must command an anchorage where vessels may lie, while being provisioned for Detroit, in all respects a proper entrepot. You shall have one of the assistant engineers to aid you in the work. The other must be left here; he will have to survey the new limits of the portage, as fixed by this treaty. Sir William Johnson will have instructions for him." In these orders of Col. Bradstreet, delivered to Capt. Montresor at Fort Niagara on the evening of July 7, 1764, we have the first word in the history of Fort Erie.

Montresor left Fort Niagara early the next morning,

but it was 10 o'clock that evening when he stood on the shore of Lake Erie. The next day was devoted to a trip of exploration. With a small detachment from Capt. Montgomery's party, he went up Buffalo Creek, examining the banks for a site suitable for a post. Once past the bar at the mouth, they rowed up the deep, placid stream, bordered on either hand by fine basswoods, oaks and maples. Further up, thickets of willows fringed the deep bends, beyond which stretched rich low meadows, bearing the marks of inundation at the time of the spring freshets. Signs of game were abundant, and the flash of their oars startled flocks of wild fowl from their sanctuary. As they rowed cautiously from bend to bend a sharp watch was kept on either hand, for this was a favorite highway of the hostile Indians, bands of whom, hidden on the forest-clad banks, no doubt watched jealously the progress of the boats. Such was the stream and such the known conditions on this the first recorded exploration made on its waters by white men. Railroads, wharves and uncouth elevators long since usurped the forest, and traffic sits enthroned where, at the time we are considering, Nature held sway, and only the wild children of the forest and the stream, and their wild human brother, with noiseless foot or gliding canoe, scarce broke the solitudes.

Capt. Montresor found no spot along Buffalo Creek or the adjacent shore that suited the needs of the expedition. He was therefore rowed across the river, and here "on the northwest side just at the discharge," after some survey, he marked out a spot where vessels might be loaded. Hastening back to Fort Niagara the next day (July 10th) he laid before Col. Bradstreet a sketch of the situation; showed how it could be fortified, and how advantageous it was for the lading and shelter of vessels. Col. Bradstreet approved of the work and ordered that it be expedited. Some necessary delay, however, occurred. Important matters were under consideration at Fort Niagara. The Colonel directed that another redoubt be built on the portage at the Three Mile bridge; he had no relish for falling into an ambush. Our engineer gave directions for constructing a bake house

for the army at Fort Schlosser, and for fitting up another oven of masonry at Fort Niagara; so that it was the 17th before he could return to Lake Erie. On that day, his plans having been approved, Capt. Montresor came over the portage and up the river with 500 men to establish the new post. He had two battalions of the Connecticut and Jersey forces, 450 men. The flotilla, 12 large boats and four batteaux, camped during the night of the 17th on Navy Island. There were "prodigious rains" that night and all the next day, but the detachment came on, bringing 176 barrels of provisions, tools, etc., to "the point of Lake Erie" at the northwest side and there they encamped; "the ground," says Capt. Montresor's journal, "extremely rich, covered with Beach, Hickory, Walnut &c. and the situation answering Expectation in every respect for my Fort, Provision Store & Wharf." Men were at once set to work felling timber and clearing the ground; ax called to ax, and the bannerets of blue smoke that rose from the burning brush were the first heralds to the forest shores around of British occupancy at the east end of Lake Erie.

On July 19th the schooner Gladwin arrived from Detroit, in quest of provisions; and on that day Capt. Montresor went once more, with a party of light infantry, up Buffalo Creek, for what purpose the journals do not record. On the 20th an assistant engineer and 14 carpenters arrived. Stockades were cut and pointed. On the 24th four companies of light infantry under Major Daly arrived from the east side of the rapids and encamped at the new fort. Artificers were squaring timbers for the barracks and storehouses; others were setting the stockades, while yet another party were making a stone revetment for the polygon of the fort next the lake. By the 31st the journal records, "the post now becomes defencible." On the 3d of August Montresor sent to Col. Bradstreet for ox teams to haul out the timbers for the piers and wharves. Masonry foundations were laid for officers' quarters and soldiers' barracks; a provision store was begun, next the lake, and a parade ground levelled off. There were at work carpenters, masons, brickmakers, lime burners, shingle makers and

sawyers. And on Aug. 4th dispatches arrived from Col. Bradstreet in which it was ordered that the new work be known as Fort Erie—the first appearance of this name in history. Constructive work continued, much interrupted by rain, and by fever, ague and “fluxes” [*i. e.*, dysentery] among the men, for some days thereafter. Vessels were arriving down from Detroit, to be loaded with stores and some of the impedimenta of the advancing army; and day after day long-boats and batteaux were arriving from down the river. On the 8th the main body of troops passed up, and crossing to the south shore pursued its course on the far from glorious campaign. But the labors of Capt. John Montresor had enabled the army to pass the dread Niagara portage in safety.

PAPERS RELATING TO THE WAR OF 1812 on the Niagara Frontier

I. FIRING THE FIRST SHOT.

AS TOLD BY THE MAN WHO FIRED IT.

REMINISCENCES OF ARCHER GALLOWAY.

The following reminiscences were written, about 1850, by Archer Galloway, a veteran of the War of 1812. The manuscript has since been preserved unpublished by his family. For its present use acknowledgment is made to Mr. Milford Galloway, of Palmyra, New York.

Archer Galloway was born in Newtown, now Elmira, in 1790. In that year the family moved to the vicinity of what is now Palmyra, N. Y., where Archer spent his youth on a frontier farm. He enlisted at 22. After the war he bought and drove cattle to the Philadelphia market, kept a store, and engaged in various occupations. He married, and in 1838 moved to Reading, Mich., where he built the first frame house in the neighborhood, and continued for many years as surveyor and farmer. He died in 1864. The following narrative is given as far as possible in his own language, though parts of it are abridged and condensed:

I know of but two men now living, besides myself, who were engaged in the war of 1812-[on the Niagara]. They are Maj. Gen. Scott, and Lewis Kent, now living in Ingham

Co., this State [Mich.]. War was declared June 18, 1812, but as early as April of that year Gov. Tompkins of New York ordered two companies of volunteers to be raised in Seneca and Ontario Counties, and to proceed immediately to Fort Niagara. We volunteered for one year; and on the 18th of May the two companies, one commanded by Capt. Elias Hall, the other by Capt. Samuel Jennings, left Canandaigua for the frontier. The most frequent incident on the march out was that we had very frequently to lift our baggage wagons out of the mire, for the country was entirely new and muddy. I think we were eleven days in getting to Fort Niagara.

From this time on until the news of the declaration of war was received, our time was spent in preparations for the coming struggle. Batteries were erected at Lewiston and other points, guns mounted, etc.; but, oh, how memorable was the day on which the news of the declaration of war arrived—and strange to say the British received it two hours before we did, and what a commotion and kicking up of dust by them! It was a caution to young soldiers like ourselves, and it appeared to us that they were literally running crazy.

By and by an express came cantering along for our post, which explained to us the trouble our enemies were in. The country on both sides of the river was clear, with nothing to prevent our seeing each other's movements. Each was expecting a visit from the other, and much figuring and maneuvering by each were practised with a view to deceive as to numbers and strength.

Well, now war was literally begun, but not a gun was fired, for each had all they could do to keep up appearances, neither party being very well prepared. Soon after, the United States soldiers arrived to take care of the fort, and the volunteers moved up the river, stopping a while at Lewiston, then on to Tonawanda, and finally we brought up at Black Rock, three miles below Buffalo, and opposite a place called Waterloo on the Canadian side. There we erected our mole batteries, 25 rods long; sods and fascines were its construction of composition, five feet high and

12 feet deep; and after mounting our guns we were ready for operations. At this time the British had their heavy guns mounted, facing ours, and they looked rather saucy.

I was an officer and commanded the gun that threw the first ball at the enemy, at the commencement of hostilities. Until now, we had not been permitted by our superiors to get up any quarrel with our neighbors, and were not allowed to fire a gun except with blank cartridges for the purpose of practice, and we were tired of lounging and doing nothing. So accordingly the British came near the river and commenced building a battery, some 30 or 40 men. Now the question was, should we permit them to do it? We could do nothing unless slyly done, orders being against us. However, it seemed most too much to allow our enemies to erect machines immediately under our noses to kill us with. We accordingly consulted as to whether we were able to get a ball in the gun unknown to our officers. One of the soldiers, Mr. Kent, before spoken of, believed it could be done, and with permission he would undertake to do it. He was allowed to try his skill.

After waiting for a favorable opportunity, the ball went in, unknown to any except those engaged in it. Our next business was to gauge the gun with the view to have the ball fall short of them, as we did not desire to kill them but merely to drive them away.

All things being ready, the match was applied. Bang! went the gun. The ball struck where we intended. The British were so completely enveloped in smoke and dust that not one of them could be seen, but as soon as they could be we found them running in every direction, some falling down, others over them. To complete the mortification on their part, but gratification on our part, we took off our chapeaux and gave them three cheers.

When our officers made inquiries, who had disobeyed orders, no one knew anything about it. They did not try very hard to find out.

Now as each party was waiting for the other, the restraint was removed. The next morning the British opened upon us with long guns. The balls that went over our bat-

teries would take our barracks, which were in the rear. They were built of poles, and before night not one pole was left on another; but we paid them in their own coin, and silenced one gun and knocked down two or three houses, so they got little or no advantage of us.

Most of our forces being stationed at this time at Lewiston under Gen. Stephen Van Rensselaer, they soon began to make preparations for invading Canada from that place. Accordingly, after collecting the forces at the different points on the river, as many as could be spared, and all things seeming to be ready, thirteen boats filled with men armed and equipped according to law appeared on the 13th of October, 1812, on the Canada shore near Queenston, all commanded by Col. Solomon Van Rensselaer.* Other field officers were Gen. W. Wadsworth, and Col. Scott. The commander being wounded in the ankle before leaving the boat, he soon after forming the men gave command to Gen. Wadsworth, and he soon gave it to Col. Scott, who immediately ordered two companies, in one of which I was, to storm the two forts that were observed on the side of the mountain, the remainder to form at the foot parallel with it. Within twenty minutes after forming we had full possession of all the British works, with their own guns turned on them; and in 20 minutes more not an enemy was to be seen. At this time we had 15 men killed and 25 wounded, the British not as many, they having the advantage of us. Within a short time the British made their appearance again, commanded by Brock, formed in line parallel to ours, and when they came in reach of the guns in the fort we made great havoc among them, and as they came nearer we gave them grape and cannister. About this time Gen. Brock and his aids were killed and their men broke and fled.

We saw no more of the enemy until about three o'clock in the afternoon, when they made their appearance again, 1600 strong, under Gen. Sheaffe, and so far outnumbered us

* Mr. Galloway calls him "Col." He had been Adjutant General of New York since January, 1801. He held that office when the war broke out, but at the request of his uncle, Major General Stephen Van Rensselaer, he took a position on the latter's staff, in which capacity he served at Queenston.

that after an hour and a half of hard fighting we were obliged to surrender. At this time the plain was well strewn with red-coats. According to official returns our losses were, killed 78, and 109 wounded; the British had, killed 127, and 191 wounded. Most of the losses occurred in the second and last battle. Col. Scott displayed great military tactics with a view to keeping possession of the field, and I am happy in contemplating the fact that I have served my country under so brave a soldier and as good a man as Gen. Scott. I received a bayonet wound at the storming of the fort.

Early in April the next year the British appeared off Sodus on Lake Ontario. Consequently all who were able to bear arms, for many miles around, were ordered out, I among the rest, to defend the military stores at that place. The enemy landed 500 or 600 men, with a view to carry off the said stores, but by a well-appointed force under Captain Hull, [we] soon convinced them that they could not have them, and that they had better go on board of their boats, which they did in such haste that they by accident or design threw overboard some 20 muskets which we secured after they had retreated.

About two weeks after this we had a similar contest with them at Pultneyville, higher up on the lake.

II. MILITIA SERVICE OF 1813-1814.

AS SHOWN BY THE CORRESPONDENCE AND
GENERAL ORDERS OF

MAJOR GENERAL AMOS HALL.

The following letters and orders, now first published, are drawn from the original manuscript order book of Major General Amos Hall, kindly placed at the service of the Buffalo Historical Society by his granddaughter, Mrs. Samuel Johnson of Dowagiac, Mich.

Amos Hall, of English lineage, was born at Guilford, Conn., Nov. 21, 1761. At the age of 14, as fifer, he joined a company commanded by his father, Capt. Stephen Hall, and served until the close of the Revolution, being a sergeant when the war ended. In 1788-'89 he was connected with a surveying corps, engaged in surveying lands of the Phelps and Gorham Purchase in Western New York. In April, 1790, he bought over 3000 acres in Township Ten, Range Five, now West Bloomfield, and two lots in Canandaigua village. He settled on his Bloomfield purchase in 1790, where he "kept bachelor's hall" until, Dec. 11, 1791, he married Phebe Coe of Granville, Mass., and brought her to his western home.

In July, 1790, having been appointed United States Marshal, he took the first census of Western New York, em-

bracing all the territory in the state west of the eastern line of the Phelps and Gorham Purchase. His returns showed a total of 1084 persons. There were 205 families, of which number but 24 lived west of the Genesee River. Sixteen blacks were reported, of whom seven were free and nine were slaves.

At the first town meeting of the town or district of Genesee—which included all that portion of the state west of Canandaigua—held at Canawagas in April, 1791, he was chosen one of its five assessors, which office he appears to have held for two years. He was supervisor in '93, '94, and '95; becoming supervisor of Bloomfield on the organization of the town in 1796. He was surrogate of Ontario County, 1796-'98; member of assembly from Ontario and Steuben, 1798-'99; from Genesee and Ontario in 1804-'05, and was re-elected for 1808, but resigned. He was state senator from the Western District from 1809 to 1813. He was one of the corporate trustees of the Canandaigua Academy, 1795, and held various other posts in the years prior to the outbreak of the War of 1812.

In 1800, Mr. Hall was appointed Brigadier General of Militia of Ontario and Steuben counties; and in 1810 was made Major General of the Seventh Division. He served on the Niagara Frontier in the War of 1812, and for a short time in the opening year of the war was in command of the forces there. In December, 1813, he was in command of hastily gathered troops, when, before organization could be effected,, occurred the battle of Black Rock.

After the close of the war, Gen. Hall was occupied on commissions for the distribution of landed estates and division of lands, a notable instance being the partition of a 100,000 acre tract between an English claimant and the State of Connecticut, being associated in this work with Gen. Israel Chapin. He died Dec. 28, 1827, at his home at West Bloomfield.

The chief value of the documents which follow lies in the light they shed on the difficulties and embarrassments of the militia service in the Niagara operations, and of methods of discipline then employed. Gen. Hall's journal opens with

the following entry, the date in part torn from the manuscript, but obviously Dec. 24, 1813:

"Brig. Genl. McClure commanding, by a polite note to Gen. Hall, assigned the command *pro tempore*.

"10 o'clock p. m. A letter was rec'd from Capt. N. Marvin, dated Dec. 24th, morning, stating the enemy's forces at about 300 Indians and 1000 regulars. Reconnaissances have been made as far as Beaches fields."*

Gen. Hall's headquarters at this date were at Batavia. Division orders, issued by him Dec. 24, 1813, directed Lieut. Col. Lawrence to "take the command of all the militia which have marched, or are to march to Lewiston from Batavia, and also of the troops now there under the command of Lieut. Col. Atchenson [Atkinson], who will be second in command." On the 24th and succeeding days numerous appointments were made; among others, Dr. Justin Smith to be surgeon to the detachment of volunteer militia on the Niagara, under Lt. Col. Lawrence. On Christmas day, that officer was ordered to join the detachment on the Ridge Road, march to Lewiston, and if possible to advance to Manchester [Niagara Falls] and Black Rock. The volunteer companies under command of Cols. Blakeslie and Gardiner, Capts. Hamlin, Rowley and Morehouse and Lieut. Kellogg were ordered, Dec. 25th, to "be inspected at this place [Batavia] by Major Mathew Marvin, and march forthwith to Buffalo, and report themselves to the Major General at that place." Following these orders is this memorandum, under date of Dec. 26th:

"At 12 o'clock took up our march from Batavia to Buffalo; arrived at Harris's in the evening. Heard a cannonading in the direction of Black Rock; it was ascertained to proceed from a firing commenced on the Canadian side upon a small vessel which was attempted to be got up the rapids. Vessel was stopped, no injury.

"Arrived in the morning at Buffalo. Dispatched a messenger to Black Rock, to appraise Gen. Hopkins of arrival;

* I have not succeeded in identifying this point.

requested his attendance for purpose of organizing plan of operations."

On the same day Maj. Gen. Hall issued general orders from his Buffalo headquarters, to the several corps of troops on the Niagara frontier, "that by the assent of Brig. Gen. McClure (to whose command the said Frontier has been assigned by the Commander-in-chief), he has assumed the command on said frontier for a short time," and calling for full returns of the number and equipment of all the troops. That evening the General wrote the following letter to the Commander-in-chief:

BUFFALO, Dec. 26, 1813.
Evening.

HIS EXCELLENCY GOV. TOMPKINS,

SIR:—On my receiving information of the enemy's crossing the Niagara river, and taking the fort, I immediately set off for that frontier. On my arrival at Batavia I found a number of volunteers assembled. I tarried one day to forward them on to the frontier and make arrangements for those who should follow.

I this day arrived at Buffalo and assumed command of the troops (being all volunteers) now on this station. The whole number here and at Lewiston, etc., may amount to 2000 of all descriptions. The enemy have made their appearance opposite B. Rock, and an invasion is to be expected.

The troops now out can be kept but a few days—the troops called out on your Excellency's last requisition cannot all arrive at this place until the middle or last of this week. The order did not reach me until the evening of the 16th inst.

Our loss in the capture of Fort Niagara has been immense. What number of brave men have been sacrificed, we have not yet been able to learn, it must have been great. Several inhabitants have been killed at Lewiston, among whom it is not ascertained there are any women or children.

I have the honor to be, Your Excellency's most Humble
Servant
AMOS HALL.

The returns made the next day to Gen. Hall showed forces as follows: At Black Rock, under Gen. Hopkins, militia infantry, 389; Indians under Col. Granger, 83; Capt. Ransom's cavalry, 37. At Buffalo, under Col. Chapin, 136; under Col. Boughton, cavalry and mounted infantry, 129; under Maj. Adams, infantry, 382; under Col. Mallory, 97; and Capt. Stannard's light artillery, 25; a total of 1278. The volunteer corps under Cols. Blakeslie, and Gardiner, Capt. Hamlin, Morehouse and Rowley and Lt. Kellogg, were organized into a battalion to the command of which Col. Blakeslie was assigned. Col. Chapin was directed to post "a guard of 24 men under command of a subaltern at the lower part of the village, a guard of six men under command of a corporal at the guide-post, also a guard of six men under the command of a corporal at the avenue leading to the Indian village, to be taken from any corps in the village of Buffalo. Eight men under Lieut. Col. S. Boughton were detached as patrols at Black Rock.

The next day, Dec. 28th, Lt. Farnum was given command of the batteries at Black Rock, and directed to raise a volunteer corps to serve under him, not exceeding 60 men. At 10 in the morning all the troops in Buffalo were paraded and reviewed by Gen. Hall; at 3 in the afternoon, those at Black Rock were similarly reviewed. The following communication, addressed to Gen. McClure, was received by Gen. Hall:

HEADQUARTERS OF UPPER CANADA,
NIAGARA FRONTIER, 27 Dec., 1813.

SIR:—I am directed [by] Lieut. General Drummond to acknowledge the receipt of your letter addressed to Major General Vincent on the subject of the excesses said to have been committed by the Indians at Lewiston. That some excesses were committed the Lieut. General admits and sincerely laments, at the same time he has the satisfaction of knowing that every effort was made and every exertion used by Major General Riall, and the officers and soldiers of the British force under his command to restrain those excesses. You sir cannot but be aware of the difficulty or rather the

impossibility of effectually controlling an infuriated band of savages. Major General Riall and the officers under his orders did however afford effectual protection to all who remained in their houses. A British soldier, a sentinel, lost his life in defending a female, an inhabitant of Lewiston, and no less than nine women and eighteen children saved by the intrepidity of the Major General and the troops from the savage fury of the Indians, and now in safety on our frontier sufficiently attest the anxious [*?anxiety*] of the British troops and their commander to alleviate as much as possible to the peaceful inhabitants the dreadful evils of a mode of warfare, to which the example of the American Government had compelled us to have recourse. I allude as well to the employment of Indians by the American Generals beyond their own frontier as to the burning in which a number of old and infirm persons and children were left to perish in the snow, an act which, the season of the year and all other circumstances considered, is unexampled in barbarity.

I have the honor to be, Sir, with respect, Your Humble
Servant,

J. HARVEY,
Lt. C., D. A. G., British Troops.

[To] BRIGADIER GENERAL McCLURE,
Commanding U. States troops, Niagara Frontier.

P. S.—I am instructed to say that immediate inquiry shall be made for the papers of Capt. Camp and Lieut. Fraser and if received they shall be sent to them. J. H.

I am directed to take this occasion of enclosing a printed General Order by his Excellencie the Commander of the British forces in North America. J. H., D. A. G.

In forwarding this letter Gen. Hall wrote:

BUFFALO, Dec. 29th, 1813.

BRIGADIER GEN. McCLURE:

SIR:—Enclosed is a letter received yesterday by flag. Not knowing but there might have been something that would have been important to be immediately known by the commanding officer I took the liberty to open it. I

found it contained an answer to your letter to Gen. Vincent, and a printed General Order of the Commander in Chief of the Canadas.

We have now on the frontier, including Lewiston, etc., about 2,000 volunteers. I had an inspection and review yesterday in Buffalo. The troops appeared extremely well and all equipped. We have been able to bring a little order out of confusion, which to be sure was very great when we arrived. I this day review the troops at the Rock.

I have ascertained that no women or female children have been butchered in the late affair at N[iagara] and Lewiston.

The detachment you will please to order on as expeditiously as possible for it will be absolutely necessary to keep at least 2,000 men on the frontier. The enemy make considerable movements on the opposite shore, and keep strict watch by night, by centinels and patrols. I however do not believe they will attempt to cross unless they find our force is wasting, which will of course be the case in a few days, unless the detachment should supply their places.

I have the honor to be . . .

A. HALL.

An order was given Capt. Kellogg to detach so many men from any troops in Buffalo as the quartermaster can employ in the laboratory in the making of cartridges, etc. (haste prevented a copy.)

On the next day the following letter was dispatched by one of Gen. Hall's aids-de-camp:

BUFFALO 29th Decr. 1813.

HIS EXCELLENCY DANIEL D. TOMPKINS.

SIR:—I am instructed by Maj. Gen. Hall to enclose you a return from the Asst. D. Q. M. Genl at this station, of the ordnance and ordnance stores on hand. I am further instructed to state to your excellency that the forces now on the frontier are mostly composed of Volunteers who have left their homes under the impression that the tour would be short, and cannot be retained, consistently for a long period. The force of the enemy, in regulars and Indians, are from

correct sources ascertained to be about 2,000 of which 800 are Indians. No doubt can exist in the mind of the Major Genl. of the determination of the enemy to retain possession of Ft. Niagara, that they are equally determined on the destruction of this part of the frontier, is derived from recent information direct from the other side.

The militia of the enemy are ordered out and are now collecting, and their boats have been removed up to Chipeway. Under these circumstances, with only 1500 troops at this station, and those poorly supplied with ammunition, the Major Genl. feels confident that no time will be lost by your excellency in forwarding succors of every description. The troops however I believe will meet the enemy with spirit should they invade our territory.

The troops of the enemy are commanded by Lieut. Genl. Drummond. The expedition against Ft. Niagara was under the command of Major Genl. Riall. No officer killed on the side of U. S. A.

In Haste your Excellency's very Obt Servt

HEMAN NORTON, A. D. C.

The following General Orders were promulgated from the Headquarters, Buffalo, Dec. 29, 1813:

"The Major General returns his thanks to the several corps of militia under his command on the Niagara frontier, as well for their civil deportment and soldier-like conduct since arriving on the frontier, as for their patriotism in leaving their homes at this inclement season, to meet an invading enemy and repel a violence [that] threatened the lives, property and safety of their fellow-citizens. Their alacrity in flying to arms at the first alarm of danger merits and will no doubt receive the thanks of their country. At least they will have the consolation of reflecting that they have done their duty, although others may have forgotten theirs.

"The Major Genl. cannot too much applaud the martial appearance and good conduct of the troops in Buffalo during the review of yesterday, and flatters himself with the

mand." Lieut. Lawrence was also summoned to Buffalo in haste, with his force, leaving Atkinson to keep guard near Lewiston. Boughton with twelve men was to patrol the following night from the mouth of Buffalo Creek to eight miles below Black Rock; and a messenger was sent post haste through the woods to Batavia with a request to Isaac Spencer, superintendent of the arsenal, "to forward on to this place, to the care of Capt. Camp, A. D. Q. M. General, who will pay the expense of transportation, 2000 lb. of powder and one ton of lead, or such less quantity as you may have on hand, together with 3000 flints," adding, "you will be sensible to the importance of this requisition." Even at this strenuous hour, orders emanating from the Buffalo headquarters were softened by the word "request." The uncertain volunteer militiaman, never very docile under "orders," was "requested," praised, and cajoled to do his duty.

There is no record, in the old manuscripts we are following, and for obvious reasons, of the disastrous events of the next few days. It is matter of familiar record that on the evening of the 29th, the British left wing, some 800 regulars and militia and 200 Indians, crossed the Niagara, landed below Scajaquada Creek, and took possession of the "Sailors' battery." The militia who were ordered by Gen. Hall to dislodge them, were thrown into disorder by the first fire of the enemy. The forces under Adams and Chapin being ordered to carry the battery, they in turn lost heart after the first exchange of shots, and ignominiously fled in the darkness. At daybreak of the fateful 30th, Gen. Hall, noting the strengthened force of the British and the new points occupied by them, attempted a defense on a new plan. Col. Blakeslie's Ontario men were to attack the English center; Col. Granger with his Indians, and a small force of Canadian volunteers under Col. Mallory, were to attack the enemy's left wing; while Col. McMahon's regiment was held in reserve. But so weakened by desertion in the night were all the American militia, and so lacking in soldierly spirit were many of those who still stood their ground, that but a feeble resistance was anywhere made. Col. McMahon's corps scattered and cravenly fled, before

ever it came under fire. Blakeslie and his men made a gallant stand, but the odds were too great, and they had to fall back. By this time most of the American forces were flying through the woods, in company with or even ahead of the terrified villagers, along the road to Williamsville and Batavia.

No reproach has ever been put upon Gen. Hall for this flight. He had done all possible to hold the invaders in check, had shown courage and readiness, but he found the raw recruits of the militia a broken reed.

In the Hall documents, there is nothing bearing date after Dec. 29, 1813, until the following:

HEADQUARTERS, BATAVIA, Jan. 6. 1814.

The A. D. Q. Master Genl. is directed to cause forty thousand rations of bread and meat to be transported from Batavia and deposited at or near Forsyth's on the ridge road for the use of the troops in that quarter.

By order of

A. HALL, M. Genl.

The work of reorganization was promptly taken up by Gen. Hall. On the 5th January, a detachment of 1900 men was ordered into service. By an order of the 8th these were to be formed into two regiments; a detachment from the 7th and 24th brigades to form one regiment, under Col. John Harris; a detachment from the 38th, 39th, 1st and 6th brigades to form another regiment under Col. Hugh W. Dobbin; the whole to form one brigade under Brig. Gen. Burnett. The field and staff officers were ordered to report at once to Gen. Hall, at Batavia. For some days thereafter, Gen. Hall's headquarters were indeterminate. Among his early dispatches is the following:

HEAD QUARTERS, NIAGARA FRONTIER, Jany. 7, 1814.

A flag is ordered to proceed by the way of the new state road south of Batavia to Buffalo and Black Rock, and there to cross over to the Canada shore, for the purpose of landing in Canada William Dickson [Dixon] Esquire, Barrister at law, Joseph Edwards Esquire, Justice of the Peace, William Ross of the Commissariat department, John Baldwin,

By order of
GEO. HOSMER, A. D. C.

MAJOR GENERAL HALL.

From the Batavia headquarters, Gen. Hall undertook to dispose his depleted forces as efficiently as possible. Wilson's cavalry were sent out on the Lewiston road. A house was taken at Williamsville and the army contractor ordered to deposit there 100,000 complete rations, to keep good that deposit, and to issue daily 1500 rations at that place. Capt. Ridgeway, at the Canandaigua arsenal, was called on for 100,000 fixed cartridges for muskets, and 2000 flints. Among the dispatches sent on the 10th was the following, signed by Aid-de-camp Hosmer:

[TO LT. COL. HOPKINS:]

SIR:—Yours of instant date rec'd and I am instructed by the Major General to offer you his thanks for your intrepidity and bravery displayed in a successful attack on the

enemies picket on the 8th inst. The General approves of your sending the prisoners to Canandaigua, at the same time he would caution you against rashness of enterprise in the present weak state of your forces. A detachment of 1900 men is ordered out, but cannot be expected on the frontier under 10 or 12 days at shortest. A supply of arms and ammunition has arrived and [?] at Canandaigua, and have been ordered on to this place, and he flatters himself that our situation will in a few days be such as to enable you to present an imposing front to the enemy and justify bolder movements.

I have the honor, etc.,

G. H., A. D. C.

On the 10th, a number of Canadian prisoners who had been held at the rendezvous at Canandaigua were dispatched in wagons for the cantonment at Greenbush. They were members of the First Royal and 100th regiments, and the Canadian militia.

BATAVIA, Jany. 11, 1814.

LIEUT. COL. SWIFT, LT. COL. HOPKINS,

GENT'M :—Your letter advising me of the approach of the enemy on your lines I have this moment received. Esquire Edy [?] to whom you referred me for further particulars respecting the enemy's forces has not arrived, but I have only to direct that should you not be able to meet the enemy in fair fight, that you give him every annoyance in your power, covering your retreat in the best manner your force will warrant. •

A company of cavalry left this [place] yesterday morning to join your corps. The detached troops that have arrived at this place have been marched to Williams Ville.

But a large reinforcement is ordered out, and will very soon be in arms, when we shall be able to meet any force the enemy can command.

You will [?] send me the earliest information of the enemies movements, and of your situation. I shall give you every assistance in my power.

Yours respectfully,

A. HALL, M. Gen'l.

N. B.—I shall come out to your cantonment as soon as I return from Williams Ville. It may be two or three days.

HEADQUARTERS BATAVIA, Jany. 13, 1814.

HIS EXCELLENCY D. D. TOMPKINS, GOVERNOR,

SIR:—Since my last communication there has not anything of importance transpired on this frontier, materially affecting us. On the 8th inst., a detachment under the command of General John Swift (a volunteer) and Lieut. Col. C. Hopkins with a party of about 70 men surprised a party of the British who were procuring wood about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile from the fort, fired upon them killed 4 of the enemy, lost one of their own men, and took 8 prisoners; subsequent to which a large force of the enemy were observed to be in motion, which induced our troops on that station to fall back 4 or 5 miles to a more defensible position. The affair ended here, all is quiet.

In consideration of our feeble force, I have cautioned the commandant on that station against indulging too much in rash enterprises until our reinforcements shall have arrived, which may be expected here in about 7 or 8 days. I have ordered on to the arsenal at this place a sufficient supply of arms and ammunition for the forces now on the frontier, and of those expected soon to arrive, so that I flatter myself that within a few days I may be able to pronounce this frontier safe against any encroachments of the enemy.

I regret to add that our loss in killed on the 30th ult. proves to be greater than I had supposed. On repossessing the ground, we found that our dead were yet unburied. There have been already collected about 50 bodies, and probably there are some yet undiscovered in the woods. The cannon were not moved by the enemy (excepting the 6-pounder), nor are they materially injured. The enemy admit their loss in killed and wounded to be 300.

A practice, for which I am at a loss for precedent has prevailed on this frontier. Officers without any regular commission at all have been erected majors and colonels by brevet commission, filled up from blanks by the command-

ing general, and in some instances by a Brigadier of Militia under which they claim rank in the regular service. I cannot reconcile it to my sense of propriety or legality to consider such commissions, otherwise than void, and as not conferring any rank. I should be happy to be advised in what light I am to consider such appointments, as under present impressions I cannot recognise them, nor certify their accounts to the paymaster.

Brig. Genl. Cass will be in Albany. I have conversed with him on the subject, and he unites with me in opinion as to the inefficacy of such appointments.

I have the honor to remain, etc.

A. HALL, M. Genl.

P. S.—Messrs. Dixon, Ross, Edwards, Baldwin and Crooks, citizens of U. Canada, prisoners of war, have rec'd passports from the commissary of prisoners to proceed to Canada, their passports were granted anterior to the late disturbances and changes on this frontier, I have detained them a few days, until our reinforcements shall have got on. I should be happy to learn your Excellencies opinion whether they should be permitted to pass over at this place. I do not myself perceive any serious objection to their being permitted to pass. Gen. Dearborn will know the men.

A. H., M. Genl.

HEAD QUARTERS BATAVIA, Jan. 14, 1814.

MAJOR RIDDLE,

SIR:—You are directed to march the regular troops under your command towards Buffalo; you will station yourself at or near Major Millars, wherever you can find convenient quarters for your forces. You will keep a patrol from your camp to Buffalo and Black Rock, and will report yourself to Brig. Gen. Hopkins, commanding at Williamsville, whose orders you will respect. In your march you will keep your men embodied and subject to orders. Circumstances require that your march be commenced very early tomorrow morning and conducted with expedition. Should you discover

any movements of the enemy causing an alarm, you will communicate the intelligence to Gen. Hopkins.

By order, etc.

G. H., A. D. C.

BATAVIA, Jan. 14, 1814.

HIS EX. GOV. TOMPKINS:

SIR:—I have nothing to communicate worth remark since my letter of yesterday of a general nature. Everything remains quiet at present on this frontier.

There is one thing I omitted to mention (I believe) in my last, which is of much consequence. There is no camp equipage, or next to none, for the troops already in service, and the Q. Master's department give but little encouragement of any being provided. It will be impossible for the troops to continue service without something to [? live] on. The detachment now making of 1900 men, will want at least 300 camp kettles. I know not how they are to be obtained—they are not in the country. I am in hopes there have been some found provided and will arrive. Col. Lambe will be able to give you the particulars of our situation more fully than I can write.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

A. HALL.

HEAD QUARTERS, BATAVIA, Jan. 15, 1814.

SIR:—I am directed to reply to your communication, to say that the Major General cannot recognise Col. Mallory as an officer in the U. State service his brevet not having emanated from a legitimate source, nor being predicated upon any prior regular commission. The case has been communicated to his Exc'y the commander in chief, for his direction and advice. At present you are considered the senior commanding officer of that corps. It is not a little singular that two, and these all, the commissioned officers in the regular service on this frontier, should be stationed at one recruiting rendezvous, and no one should be left to command the troop on detachment, it is desirable that you will adjust the difficulty with Capt. Scott, so that some one

may take command of the troops, and that in the mean time there be no delay in marching the troops to the station assigned them where they can alone, be of any service to the Government.

I am, sir, etc.,

GEO. HOSMER, A. D. C.

On Jan. 18th, among other orders, was one dismissing from further service the cavalry and mounted infantry, with the exception of Cpts. Marvin's and Wilson's company, and a guard under Lieut. Abby. Gen. Hall returned his thanks to officers and privates alike, "for their alacrity in turning out at this inclement season at the call of their country, their prompt obedience of orders, their general good conduct in camp and bravery evinced in the field." The same day the following letter was dispatched. It bears no address, but was apparently sent to Major General David Mead, commanding the militia at Erie:

HEADQUARTERS, BATAVIA, Jan. 18, 1814.

SIR:—Yours of the 11th inst., enclosed in a letter from Lt. Elliott of the 14th was rec'd on the 17th at evening. I am happy to learn that you are on your guard against supposed movements of the enemy threatening Erie and the fleet stationed in that harbor, and at the same time regret that it will not be in my power to lend you any material aid in the event of an attack. The forces under my command are small, and barely sufficient for covering the frontier, and quieting the apprehensions of the inhabitants. Large detachments, and these frequent, have been made from my division, and the militia in the quarter are now exceedingly harrassed with duty. I shall take care to appraise you by express of any information that may be in my possession relative to the enemies movements, which may be material for you to know. As at present advised I think there is some reason to apprehend an attack on your post, should the ice become sufficiently strong, and your post not be strongly guarded.

I presume you have through your executive, or directly, communicated to the Sec'y at War your situation and that thereby the Government are possessed of a knowledge of the

critical situation in which you are placed. It would give me great pleasure to have such a force under my command as would enable me to coöperate with you in the meditated plan of defense and attack, without at the same time exposing the frontier to further devastation.

I beg you will show this to Lieut. Elliott, who will see in it an answer to his communication, and that you will at the same time assure him of my respect and esteem.

I have the honor, etc.,

A. HALL, M. Genl.,
Com'g on Niagara Frontier.

GENERAL ORDERS.

HEAD QUARTERS, BATAVIA, Jan'y 20, 1814.

The detachment of militia from the 7th, 38th and 6th Brigades will be organized into companies of 100 men each, officers inclusive. Brig. Gen. will cause them to be mustered by Major Riddle, who is appointed to that duty. As soon as the muster is completed, the men will be furnished with arms, etc., and camp equipage. They will march under the direction of the officers of companies to the cantonment quarters of Gen. J. Swift on the Ridge Road near Lewiston, where they will report themselves to the commanding officer on that station.

The officers commanding companies will be held responsible for damages done by their soldiers on the march, and they are strictly charged to keep their men in order, and not suffer any of them to leave their places in the ranks without permission. Every attention will be paid by the officers to the men, they will see that their quarters are the best that can be provided while on the march. The practice of disorder by firing, which has been a subject of much complaint and is seriously to be regretted, by militia heretofore called into service from the good conduct and orderly appearance of the present detachment the Major General flatters himself will in no instance happen. One company of the detachment from the 24th and 39th Brigades will

be supplied with arms, etc., and commence as soon as they have been mustered for Williams Ville under the direction of the commanding officer of the company who will be accountable for the orderly and good conduct of the men, they will not be suffered to stroll, but will march in order. The captain will report himself and company at the commanding officer at Williams Ville on his arrival.

A. HALL, Maj. Gen.,
Comm'dg Niagara Frontier.

HEADQUARTERS, BATAVIA, Jan. 21st, 1814.

By permission of the High Sheriff of Genesee County, a room in the Gaol of said county is to be the provost Guard House at this station, and Capt. N. Marvin will furnish a corporal and four men for provost Guards. The provost guard will take into custody ——— Burgess, charged with holding correspondence with the enemy, and keep him safely until further orders.

By order of MAJ. GEN. A. HALL.
WILLIAM H. ADAMS, Acting A. D. C.

BATAVIA, Jan. 21st, 1814.

MAJOR GEN'L MEAD:

SIR:—This will accompany my letter in answer to yours of the 11th inst. I was not informed until last evening that the express who brought your letter was waiting for an answer. I was at that time on the northern part of the frontier and your express came no further than Williamsville. I had ordered an express to go through to Erie to start this morning but shall send this by your express.

I have nothing new to inform you of respecting the movements of the enemy nor can I ascertain to my satisfaction whether their main force is gone on any secret expedition or not. The following is the latest and I believe the most correct account to be obtained [a break in the MS.] except the forces said to be above Chippewa com'dg the navy at Erie stating their apprehensions of an attack at

the latter place as soon as the ice becomes sufficiently strong to pass over which generally happens by the 10th of Feby. They have requested me to co-operate with them by stationing my force at Chatauque. In answer I have been obliged to state that my force on this station will be small and hardly sufficient to guard the frontier and quiet the fears of the Inhabitants. My force may be calculated as follows: First detachment of 1,000 men at 600; second detachment of 1900 say 1000, possibly 1200, making at most 1800 men; this force will be stationed at Williams Ville and near Lewistown, and nearly equally divided. There are about 150 regulars (such as they are) on this frontier without officers except a Lieut. Riddle, who I am informed by himself is ordered to superintend the recruiting service at this place. Major Malcomb arrived this evening with orders from Genl. Wilkinson for those troops to join their several regiments at French Mills,* etc. The second detachment of militia is coming in daily and as fast as they can be organized march on to W. Ville and the cantonment near Lewistown. There being neither axes nor camp kettles in the Q. Master's department I have been obliged to order a partial supply to be purchased by the A. D. Q. M. Gen. at this place until a supply shall arrive from Albany which I hope may be soon or the troops will suffer exceedingly.†

HEAD QUARTERS, BATAVIA, Jan. 23, 1814.

Lt. Col. Jno. Harris will proceed to Hard Scrabble‡ to the cantonment now occupied by the troops under the command of Col. Swift, and take charge of the detachment to the command of which he was assigned by Division Orders of the 8th inst. Marched and marching to there [their]

* On the Salmon River, near what is now Fort Covington, Franklin Co., N. Y.

† This letter is printed as it is in the manuscript. It has no signature and is obviously incomplete. There is also, it would seem, a considerable loss at the point where a break is indicated, the part before it being on one sheet, that which follows on another. It is even possible that the two portions are parts of different letters.

‡ A camp on the Ridge Road about midway between Williamsville and Lewiston.

station the troops under the command of Lt. Col. Harris will be quartered in as compact a manner as the nature of the ground and the present barracks will admit, and Col. Harris will make the proper provision for quarters by building huts as soon as may be. Lt. Col. Harris being on the exterior post will be vigilant in providing against surprise by sending patrols to Lewiston, by keeping a picquet at Hustlers and such other place and places as his discretion shall direct, and by causing patrols to Schlosser, Manchester, and as near the enemy as he may deem practicable. The strictest attention will be paid to the comfort and convenience of the men, to the preservation of their arms, etc. No parties will be allowed to sally out or stroll from the camp, nor will any scouts be suffered but by the particular order of the commanding officer. The commanding officers of companies will be held responsible for the safe keeping of the arms, accoutrements and ammunition and see that no waste be committed. Morning reports will be required. Some house in the rear must be assigned as a hospital and particular attention paid to the sick. The commanding officer will pay attention to provision returns and see that they correspond with morning reports.

From the talents and experience of Col. Harris the Major General has the strongest confidence that the important post to the command of which he is assigned will be well secured and that the regulation and discipline of the troops will be such as to reflect honor on the officers and soldiers.

By order, etc. WILLIAM H. ADAMS, A. D. C.

HEAD QUARTERS, BATAVIA, Jan. 23, 1814.

Brigr. Genl. Burnett will repair to the cantonment at Williams Ville (Eleven Mile Creek) and take command of the troops on that station and in the vicinity. Genl. Burnett will cause the detachment under his command to be quartered in the barracks already existing at that cantonment as far as those barracks will accommodate them, and as near as may be. Should there not be a sufficient number of huts

to accommodate the whole detachment no time is to be lost in building, taking care that the troops are quartered in a compact and regular manner. Genl. Burnett will be vigilant in providing against surprise by causing picquets, patrols, etc., at such places and in such directions as his discretion shall direct. No troops are to be stationed in advance of the cantonment but by detachment, and the countersign, etc., will emanate from cantonment quarters. No men will be allowed to stroll from camp nor any scouts be suffered but by particular orders of the commanding officer. The commandants of companies will be responsible for the arms, accoutrements and ammunition of the men and see that no waste be committed.

The zeal of Brigr. Genl. Burnett in the defence of our common country as well as the promptitude and decision which has characterized him in the detachment and organization of the troops are a sure pledge to the Major General that the cantonment committed to his charge and the troops under his command will be in such a state of regularity and efficiency as to answer the expectations of an anxious and exposed country.

By order, etc.,

WILLIAM H. ADAMS, Acting A. D. C.

BATAVIA, Jan. 24, 1814.

GENERAL SWIFT,

SIR:—I have this moment received your letter of 8 o'clock last evening. I regret very much that you have not a force equal not only to meet but to hunt the enemy back to the fort. There are four companies of 100 men each on the way to your relief, one of which must undoubtedly arrive this morning, another in the course of this day, probably two. That will give you a handsome reinforcement. One other company will march today and Col. Harris will move this morning. They are all well equipped. I have no doubt you will do every thing to repel the enemy should they attempt to attack you that your force would justify. Your judgment will direct your immediate operations. I have

to request that you would stay with Capt. Harris a few days after his arrival if possible, you will be of great service to him.

Wishing you success I conclude and am, Sir, your most
humble Svt.,
A. HALL, M. Genl.

James Fox, of the 8th King's Regiment, a deserter from Fort Niagara, was examined, apparently at Gen. Hall's headquarters at Batavia, on Jan. 26, 1814. He said he had left Fort Niagara on the 20th, and that when he came away there were 700 effective men in the fort, besides 70 or 80 artillerists. "They have wood for three months; Col. Youngs commands, Col. Hamilton is expected to relieve him. An expedition to Erie is commonly talked of, in the army, among the officers. Watteville's German legion are expected up." Fox gave the British force as follows: The King's Regiment [the 8th], 500; 41st, 600; 1st Royal Scots, 700; 100th Regt., 500; one company of the 89th, 80; of the marine artillery, 80; one company negroes, 100; artillery, 80; dragoons, 100; in all, 2740. "No Indians at present to be seen."

On Jan. 31st, Gen. Hall's headquarters were established at Williamsville. The next day he sent his special thanks to Brig. Gen. Burnett, Lt. Cols. Davis and Colt and the officers generally "for their exertions in regulating the cantonment, building and repairing huts, and their indefatigable exertions to render the situation of the soldiers as comfortable as possible." After extending his commendations to the soldiers generally for their good conduct and fine appearance on parade, he added: "There are however some who lost to every sense of duty and the honor of soldiers, have deserted the service to which their country had called them. Such merit the contempt of all good soldiers, and will meet the punishment due to their crimes." And he concluded with the oft-repeated regret that he had not been able to furnish necessary camp equipage, etc.

Two days later he wrote as follows to the Chief Executive of the State:

WILLIAMS VILLE, Feby. 2d, 1814.

HIS EXY. GOVERNOR TOMPKINS,

SIR:—The detachment of Militia from my Division has been organized into companies of 100 men each and are now at this place and near Lewiston, amounting to 1100 *only*. The requisition was for 1900. This statement will show your Excellency the impossibility of filling a requisition, and at the present time it is more difficult than usual on account of the harassed state of the western part of my division. I have not been able to discover any late movements of the enemy, but believe a part of their force is gone on a secret expedition. I have been apprehensive for Detroit but an officer who arrived this day from Gen. Mead's army at Erie assures me that our strength at that place is sufficient to repel any force the enemy can bring against it. I sincerely hope he may not be deceived. The troops under my command are healthy though badly furnished with camp equipage, there is not a camp kettle, not [a] tin pan to twenty men. I have been anxiously expecting the arrival of those necessary articles for the use of the troops, but have as yet been disappointed. I have this day rec'd letters from Maj. Gen. Mead stationed at Erie, who states that his force is now very respectable. He is of opinion that he could give a good account of the Enemy should he attempt to disturb him, tho' he still wishes a coöperation of my force in case of an attack. I have written your Excy several letters since I have had the honor of receiving any from you. I trust your letters must have been detained or that your other engagements have engrossed so much of your time that you have not had leisure to answer mine.

I have the honor to be Yr Excy's most obt. humble sev't,
A. HALL.

On the same day [Feb. 2] in a letter which bears no address, but was, it may be presumed, addressed to Gen. Mead, he wrote: "I shall immediately establish my line of expresses to meet and coöperate with yours agreeable to my former proposal. . . . It gives me great pleasure to be informed of the improvement of your militia, and should

the enemy have the temerity to visit your post I will not permit myself to doubt but it will end in his total overthrow. Permit me to give you a sketch of the British force from the recent information: Present force, 8th King's, 500; 41st King's, 600; 1st Royals, 700; 100th, 500; 1st light company, 80; marine artillery, 80; 1 company black corps, 100; 1 -Co. H[eavy] artillery, 80; 1 Co. dragoons, 80; [total] 2740. Watteville's legion German troops are expected up soon. Indian force, Six Nations, 400; Western Indians 1000 — 1400. I refer you to Capt. Atkinson for further particulars."

WMS VILLE, Feby. 6th, 1814.

CAPT. CHASE,

SIR:—I was not a little surprised on receiving your letter (dated Geneva Feby. 3d by the hand of Mr. Gallaway) stating that you could get no men to volunteer, and come on to the frontier with you—the more especially after the statement you made to me at Batavia. I am now however satisfied that I was deceived, and by your own statement I am not to expect any assistance through you. I have to regret that the public money should have been so misapplied. At the same time you will permit me to observe, that you will be required to acct. for the monies you recd from the Qr Master's department.

I have no further orders to give, But find I shall be necessitated to call on some other company.

Yours respectfully,

A. HALL, M. Genl. Comdg.

HEAD QUARTERS, WILLIAMS VILLE, Feby. 17th, 1814.

The companies of Volunteers under the command of Capts. Hull & S[t]one in public service will be consolidated and placed under the command of Capt. William Hull, to whom is attached Lieut. James Chapin and Ensign Harris Hibbard. Captn Hull will march with all convenient dispatch to Lerches [?] Ferry on the Buffalo Creek and keep

such a guard from thence toward Buffalo as the number of his corps will warrant, subject to the orders of the officer of the day. He will make returns to the commanding officer on the Niagara Frontier.

By order, etc.,

WILLIAM H. ADAMS, Actg. A. D. C.

A communication from Gen. Hall to Capt. Stone, written the same day as the above, informed him that his company was consolidated with Capt. Hull's for "the public good." "The Major General," Hall wrote, "has no power to place any in command but such as are regularly in commission in the Militia of this State. The Volunteers heretofore under your command will be assured their rations and pay, in case they place themselves under the command of the officers selected to command the consolidated company."

HEAD QUARTERS, WILLIAMSVILLE, Feby. 17, 1814.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR,

SIR:—I feel it my duty to communicate for the information of your Excellency some circumstances necessary to be known, and which it is thought will require your early attention, and probably the coöperating aid of the Legislature.

In the first moment of alarm on this frontier; for the purpose of defense, and to supply present deficiencies, arms and ammunition were provided by any means, wherever they were to be had, of individuals or otherwise. The ammunition has in part been paid for on a requisition, by the Q. Masters department of the U. States, but the arms purchased have not been, nor is there any probability that they will be paid for by the U. States. Those arms have been appropriated to the use of the State, and have been turned into the public arsenals, the individuals of whom they were purchased, remain to be paid, and are men who cannot without inconvenience remain unremunerated. These purchases were chiefly made on the authority of Lt. Colo. Davis, and although the proceeding was not strictly warranted by law or usage, yet it is presumed your excellency will perceive in the correctness of the motive a fair claim on the State au-

thority for an assumption of such contracts. The sum requisite to cover such purchases will probably amount to 10 or 1200 Dollars.

Your Excellency will recollect that immediately after my assuming the command on this frontier a representation was made of the destitute situation of our troops as to arms and military stores—an event naturally resulting from the loss of the great depot of the munitions of war, Fort Niagara: as well as the other contingent losses of war. This representation received prompt attention, and a supply it is understood was ordered on to the frontier. It would have relieved me from much embarrassment, had there have accompanied the arms, etc., a bill of them. But learning that they had arrived at Canandaigua, and were placed under the care of Captain Ridgeway a U. S. officer, an order was given to remove them to Batavia. The arms have chiefly been delivered out, it is matter of regret that there should have been so great deficiency of cartouch boxes—a very considerable number of the arms were unsupplied in this particular. The importance will readily be perceived of supplying this deficiency. Of ammunition and flints there is a sufficiency for the present.

The camp kettles and pans so much desired have been received and distributed by the Q. M. of Brigade, under the supposition that it was the property of the State.

I flatter myself that your Excellency will lose no time in ordering detachments of troops from other divisions into service to relieve those at present here. On this so momentous a subject it is earnestly hoped that there may be no delay, the whole number now on this frontier do not exceed 1800 men, and the terms of the militia of the 1st detachment called for on the requisition of the War Department will expire as soon as new troops can be got out. Those of the 2d detachment having been ordered out under the State authority it cannot be thought reasonable should be much longer detained. The harassing duties of the 7th division, call loudly for consideration, and it is hoped that those citizens more happily situated will commiserate and relieve them.

From recent information the enemy are undoubtedly in considerable force near this frontier, and adequate security cannot be afforded without considerable addition to the numbers now in service.

There is another subject I am constrained to press upon your Excellencies attention; the troops which have been and are now in service under the State authority have only the promise of pay expressed on the Statute book, but it is not known that any appropriations are made by law for their pay, nor is it known that the District Pay-master of the armies of the U. States will feel authorized to pay such troops without express orders from the War Department. Some uneasiness has already been manifested on this subject, and it would afford me much satisfaction to be informed by your Excellency as to what answer I can give to those who may inquire of me respecting their pay and the means which may be provided. A satisfactory assurance on this subject may be of important service.

I have the honor to be your Excellencies most obedient and humble servt. A. HALL.

HEAD QUARTERS, WILLIAMSVILLE, Feby. 19, 1814.
LIEUT. COLO. MALLORY,

SIR:—I have the honor to inform you by direction of M. General Hall, that an answer from his Excellency the Governor has just been rec'd to the letter of the General requesting to be informed "in what light he should consider appointments circumstanced as is yours and the officers of your corps," to which His Excellency has been pleased to reply in the following words:

"With respect to the brevet commissions of which you spoke in a former letter, I have written to Genl. Wilkinson and he returns for answer that they were given for a temporary purpose and are not now to be regarded as giving their possessors rank or pay."

The General deemed it due to you and the officers of your corps to communicate thus early the opinion which his

Excellency the commander in chief entertains of your rank and claims.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

GEO. HOSMER, A. D. C.

A curious feature of the Williamsville camp was the courts-martial. It is evident that the men were hard to restrain and keep up to service requirements. Corporal William Smith, for firing his gun without orders, and for directing others to do so, by which a false alarm was occasioned, was put in the guard-house on half rations. Peter Brown, private, found guilty of desertion, was sentenced to the loss of half a month's pay. The loss of a month's or half a month's pay was the most frequent punishment inflicted for the most frequent of offenses, desertion; but the leniency was no doubt in many cases due to youth. Thus Private John Lockwood was docked only half a month's pay, he being under the age of 18 years. The same offense however, committed by Private John Bowerman brought forth an order for stoppage of half a month's pay, and that he should sit in stocks two hours on the public parade; but Major Gen. Hall, "considering the severity of the weather, orders the execution of that part of the sentence which requires the prisoner to sit in the stocks suspended during his good behaviour." For being drunk, while on guard, Private Cyrus Angell was deprived of half a month's rations of whiskey, and ordered "to march from right to left in front of the Brigade, having his arms extended and lashed to a five-foot pole, with a bottle in each hand, one of which is to be empty and the other filled." This sentence was carried out at the evening roll-call, while the Major General reminded his soldiers that "the law martial makes the crime of drunkenness in a centry punishable with death or such other punishment as a general court martial shall inflict. The ignominious punishment," he added, "now to be inflicted in presence of the whole brigade the Major General flatters himself will be a sufficient admonition to others, and trusts that the crime will not again be committed during this

campaign." For disorderly conduct, Private Richard F. Read was required "to march from right to left of the regiment with his hat under his arm, to kneel to his captain and ask his forgiveness." Benjamin Wilber, for desertion, was sentenced "to suffer the stoppage of half a month's pay, to stand in the stocks in front of the regiment two hours upon the public parade ground for two days in succession one hour in each day, and to undergo five days' hard labor wearing at the same time a clog of four pounds weight fastened to one leg." And once more the Major General "regrets that any soldier should be found capable of the infamous crime of desertion, especially when the present situation of his country and every motive that should actuate a good citizen form so strong a claim to the faithful and zealous performance of his duty"; and once more he "flatters himself that the examples made of those who have deserted will prevent others from committing this crime, and thereby preclude the necessity of resorting to the punishment of death; a punishment which though it is severe is no more than equal to the enormity of this offense." Another deserter was punished by the stoppage of a month's pay and the requirement "to cut up two stumps close by the roots on the public parade ground, such as the Col. shall designate." This was better than the sentence meted out a few days later to another deserter, who was deprived of all pay; and made "to march from right to left through the ranks of the Brigade and then from left to right in front of the same with his hat off and hands tied behind him, followed by music playing the Rogues' March; to sit an hour straddle of one of the cannons when the same is mounted with a label posted on his hat crown in front with this inscription in large letters, viz., 'I became a Substitute for Speculation and am now punished for desertion,' and at the expiration of the hour to be drummed out of camp." This was done, March 31st at 11 o'clock, and was the most ignominious punishment inflicted at all of the many courts-martial in that winter's camp on the Eleven-Mile Creek. It is probable that desertion had become such an evil that Gen. Hall was constrained to resort to a harsher punishment than was his wont, notwithstanding

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that the term of enlistment of most of the men was just expiring.

The following General Order was promulgated at the Williamsville Headquarters, Feb. 21, 1814:

"The different members of the late corps of Upper Canada Volunteers will deliver the arms and equipments in their possession belonging to the public to the Brigade Quarter Master Maj. Staunton. They will be entitled to draw rations as Canadian sufferers or refugees from U. Canada. They together with all Canadian citizens are required to fall back of the Cantonment at Williams Ville unless the able-bodied men shall choose to attach themselves to the company of Volunteer militia under the command of Capt. Hull."

The winter wore away, with but little to disturb the camp, and no actual fighting. There was routine duty, as strictly maintained as possible; undoubted diversion in the execution of the court-martial sentences; and both sickness and desertion to worry the devoted general. On March 20th, their term of service being about to expire, Gen. Hall directed the discharge of the regiment of detached militia under Lt. Col. Davis, in the following order: Capt. Kelsey's company to be discharged on the 21st, Capt. Matteson's on the 22d, and the remaining companies on the 24th inst., the Major General giving them all a cordial farewell, with thanks for their service and good wishes for their future. On the 22d, Lt. Williams was sent across the Niagara with a flag of truce, to receive some wounded prisoners of war, who were to be delivered up at the ferry house. On the 25th, certain guards that had been regularly posted "at the north, east and south openings," were ordered discontinued. On the 28th, Brig.-Gen. Burnett was directed to consolidate several parts of companies belonging to the regiment of detached militia under the command of Lt. Col. Avery Smith, to be consolidated into companies of 100 men each, discharging the supernumerary and non-commissioned officers.

On April 6th a general review and inspection were held. Two days later orders were issued for the discharge from service of the regiments commanded by Lt. Col. Harris and

Lt. Col. Dobbins. In the latter's regiment, the men were to be dismissed as follows: On Saturday, Apr. 9th, the companies commanded by Capts. Campbell and Bronson; on Sunday the 10th, those commanded by Capts. Spencer and Dunn; and on Monday the 11th, those commanded by Capts. Woodworth and Swan. In the general orders directing this disbandment Gen. Hall wrote:

"It is a subject of much regret that those who have left their employments and the endearments of domestic life for the defense of the State in the most inclement season of the year should not meet that pecuniary reward which the laws of our country allow them and which they had every reason to expect from the Government. The Major General assures the officers and men that he has not omitted to give seasonable information respecting the situation and demands of the troops under his command, and to request an early attention to their just claims with as much earnestness and plainness as was consistent with the respect due to superiors. His exertions shall be continued to procure justice for his fellow citizens who established so good claims to his respect and the gratitude of their country. A consciousness of having discharged their duty as good citizens and the best wishes of the Major General for their future prosperity and happiness accompany each officer and soldier of these meritorious corps to their homes."

On the 10th, Lt. Whitaker was ordered to march his detachment of cavalry to the Williamsville cantonment, to be mustered preliminary to immediate discharge, and the commandants of companies were ordered to turn over the arms, accoutrements, camp equipage, etc., to the quarter-master general. The following, "after General Orders," issued at the Williamsville headquarters, Apr. 10th, is the last of the Amos Hall MSS. in the collection under notice relating to the militia service on the Niagara:

"The arrival of some battalions of United States troops enables the Major General to discharge the regiment of detached militia commanded by Lt. Col. Smith on Monday the 11th inst. Col. Smith will cause the several companies to be mustered preparatory to their discharge, as well as the field

and staff officers of his regiment. The Major General requests the officers and men composing this regiment to accept his thanks for the promptitude with which they left their homes for the defense of their state, and for their zeal and good conduct since their arrival. He regrets that they are obliged to return to their homes without their wages, and assures them his best exertions shall be used to secure to them the reward of their patriotism."

NOTE.—A long letter from Maj.-Gen. Hall to Gov. Tompkins, dated "Headquarters, Niagara Frontier, Jan. 6th, 1814," is printed in Ketchum's *History of Buffalo*, Vol. II., Appendix, pp. 392-396. This letter, not included in the foregoing collection, gives an account of the principal occurrences on the frontier from Dec. 22d to 30th, 1813. Of prime importance, it is as there printed easy of access and need not be reprinted here. In Cruikshank's *Documentary History of the Campaign on the Niagara Frontier in 1814* are reprinted from the *Buffalo Gazette* of Aug. 30, 1814, Division Orders issued by Gen. Hall at Bloomfield, Aug. 22d. Cruikshank's *Documentary History*, Part III., relating to the campaign of 1812, contains several of Gen. Hall's letters and reports of that year. Others are perhaps preserved with the MSS. of Governor Tompkins at Albany; though the volume (*Public Papers of Daniel D. Tompkins . . . Military, Vol. I.*) edited by Hugh Hastings, State Historian, and published by the State in 1898, contains no letters from Gen. Hall. Its record of orders sent to him, and numerous incidental references, will, however, be found useful to the student.

III. TWO DRAMATIC INCIDENTS.

DRAWN FROM AN UNPUBLISHED MS. HISTORY OF
PIONEER DAYS IN THE TOWN OF EDEN, ERIE CO.,
N. Y., IN POSSESSION OF THE BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY. WRITTEN IN 1864,

BY GEN. ASA WARREN.

I was a sergeant in a militia company in the autumn of 1812 and stationed on Niagara River. On the night of the capture of the two British vessels, the brig Hunter and the schooner Caledonia,* I was on my way to Buffalo, and spent the night at the Dayton farm, three miles below Black Rock. The flash of the guns were distinctly seen. I started at early dawn in great haste to ascertain the cause of the firing. As I came up opposite the British batteries and at the house, I think, of Mr. Sibley, I saw several men in care of an officer. I at once recognized Major William Howe Cuyler, aide to Maj.-Gen. Hall, commanding officer at Buffalo.

At the sound of the firing he had mounted his horse and rode down the river with a lighted lantern in his hand, as I was told, and when in range of their guns was shot through the body, and his wrist was broken by grape shot. Thus

* Oct. 9, 1812. Lossing says Maj. Cuyler was killed by the first shot from the flying artillery, after the capture of the vessels. See *Field Book of the War of 1812*, p. 387.

fell the accomplished gentleman, the brave and valiant officer.

For two months, from July 25, 1814, I was a subaltern officer and stationed at Buffalo and Black Rock. During this time I was passing one day, near night, from Black Rock to Aurora. As I came into Main Street I saw a crowd gathered, and on coming to it I saw a number of Indian chiefs of the Seneca nation whom I knew—Farmer's Brother, Pollard, Young King, Major Berry, and others whom I do not now recall.

They appeared to be in earnest conversation, and I enquired of a bystander the cause. He pointed me to an Indian who was on trial as a spy from Canada, and who had been boasting during the day in the village of Buffalo how many scalps he had taken from our people and Indians.

The man lay near the wall of one of the burned buildings, on his right side, and his left arm covering his face and eyes. Soon a gun was handed to Farmer's Brother, who deliberately walked to him, and putting the muzzle of the gun near the region of the heart, shot him dead. The young men of the nation soon took him from the place.

NOTE.—A brief report of the above execution is contained in the *Buffalo Gazette* of Aug. 2, 1814, which says that the Indian spy was shot on Sunday. There are several versions of the affair, but Gen. Warren's, given above, is the only one known to be by an eye-witness. Ketchum says the execution "took place upon the east side of Main Street, a little below Swan Street. The buildings having been burned, most of the lots remained vacant."—*History of Buffalo*, Vol. II., p. 117.

IV. A HERO OF FORT ERIE.

DID HE CAUSE THE EXPLOSION OF THE BASTION, AUG. 15, 1814?

LETTERS RELATING TO THE MILITARY SERVICE, CHIEFLY ON
THE NIAGARA FRONTIER, OF

LIEUTENANT PATRICK McDONOGH.

The following letters were written by Patrick McDonogh, lieutenant in the Second Artillery, United States Army, whose service on the Niagara frontier during the War of 1812 was brilliant and effective. A peculiar interest has always attached to McDonogh's memory because of his gallantry at Fort Erie in repelling the assault of the British, August 15, 1814, and because of the oft-repeated assertion that it was he who, though mortally wounded, blew up the northeast bastion, and by this sudden slaughter of the attacking force, saved the day for the Americans, or at any rate hastened the abandonment of the assault by the British. The evidence bearing on Lieutenant McDonogh's part in the affair is by no means conclusive; though his latest and perhaps most painstaking biographer, Miss Isabel M. O'Reilly, having brought together all available data on the subject, shows that the story is in a high degree probable.*

* Miss O'Reilly, a corresponding member of the Buffalo Historical Society, contributed to the Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia, an article entitled *One of Philadelphia's Soldiers in the War of 1812*, in which she sketched the career of Lieut. McDonogh, so far as known, quoted from various documentary and published sources, statements bearing on his part at Fort Erie, and published for the first time, in the Society's Quarterly for December, 1901, and March, 1902, the McDonogh letters which, by kind permission of Miss O'Reilly and the American Catholic Historical Society, are reprinted in the present volume. Our introductory notes are in part summarized from Miss O'Reilly's article.

Patrick McDonogh was born in Dublin, about the year 1786. It was, apparently, in 1793 that his parents with their four children, came to America, where after short sojourns in New York and Baltimore they removed to Philadelphia, which became the permanent home of the family. When war with England was declared in June, 1812, young McDonogh, with several companions from Philadelphia, very promptly hastened to Washington and procured commissions in the regular army. Nearly all that is known of his life during the next year and a half is what is contained in the letters that follow, preserved by his sister Anne, to whom some of them were addressed. The earliest of the letters is dated at the rendezvous, Trenton, June 26, 1812—only eight days after President Madison signed the declaration of war—and the latest document in the collection, an order addressed to Lieut. McDonogh at Ft. Mifflin, is dated Jan. 19, 1814. Nothing has yet been found, after that date, either in letters, official papers or the family annals, to tell of his subsequent movements until the following August. The presumption is that shortly after the order of Jan. 19th, relieving him from duty as recruiting officer at Philadelphia, he rejoined his regiment on the Niagara. The brigade to which he was attached shared in the battles of Chippewa and Lundy's Lane (or Bridgewater), and in the reports receives frequent mention for gallantry, but no individual mention is made of McDonogh. The English garrison at Fort Erie capitulated on July 3d. Major-Gen. Jacob Brown placed Lieut. McDonogh and a small garrison in charge of the fort, which McDonogh did much to strengthen, deepening the ditches and raising the bastions. "He also took out the line of pickets on the west flank and began the construction of a redoubt to protect the bastions." * Without going at length into the familiar story of the British assault and siege, it is well to call attention to the part which, according to official and other reports, Lieut. McDonogh bore in the events culminating in the explosion. The assault took place at two o'clock on the morning of the 15th of August.

* Babcock's *The Siege of Fort Erie*, pp. 25, 26.

Some account of Lieut. McDonogh's participation in the early part of the action is found in a pamphlet published some years after to advance the political interests of John G. Watmough, who, like McDonogh, was a lieutenant in a company commanded by Capt. Alexander J. Williams. The Watmough pamphlet says: .

"The night of the 15th of August was fixed by the British for their final attack. It was dark and rainy and every way calculated to promote the success of the assailants. . . . The attack was made at various points by three heavy columns of choice troops, led by most distinguished officers and sustained by a heavy reserve and a body of 700 or 800 Indians. . . . The American officer who commanded the picket guards in our front was young and entirely inexperienced—he had joined the army but a few days before, and knew nothing of war. His orders were to hold on firmly until the attack began and then retreat slowly within our lines. He entirely mistook their object, and upon the report of the first gun from the American left he commenced his own retreat without waiting to be attacked and in spite of the entreaties of his brave veterans. The error sprang from ignorance, not from want of patriotism or courage; it had, however, nearly proved fatal to the American army. The officers of artillery stationed in the advance battery . . . were at their posts, and keenly on the alert, . . . when suddenly, without the previous notice of a single shot, the trampling of feet and the sound of voices were heard under the muzzle of their guns. The brave McDonogh was the first to leap upon the parapet and demand, in a voice of thunder, 'Who goes there?' The watch-word was instantly returned, and the officer of the picket attempted to excuse his conduct. McDonogh replied, 'Return, sir, instantly, and die upon your post—one moment's delay and I'll blow you and your command into ten thousand atoms.' The young man obeyed, but scarcely had he advanced two hundred yards before he encountered the enemy. . . . Our gallant band received them with a tremendous fire of artillery and mus-

ketry, and the British were repulsed at every point. The unremitting and destructive fire of our brave artillerists produced a scene of most appalling grandeur. Every avenue of sense conveyed some idea of horror. The thick gloom of the night, only broken here and there by the glare of the lightning and the bright flash of the guns; the alternate roar of the cannonade and the death-like stillness of those solemn intervals of silence which interrupt the tumult of war; the lurid smoke which hung like a mournful curtain over the field of carnage; the shrieks of the wounded and dying and the yells of the hostile Indians—all combined to produce a spectacle of sublime reality. They [the British] returned five times to the attack, determined to conquer or perish in the attempt. The sixth assault was attended with better success. Colonel Drummond, who attacked Watmough's battery [? Williams's] with a column of one thousand men, effected a footing on the bastion and charged the defenders while in the very act of reloading their guns. The Colonel himself led the forlorn hope. . . . A personal conflict of great violence ensued and continued for some time with alternate success. In a desperate resolve to repel the foe, the brave, the intrepid Williams and McDonogh fell. . . . The incident related above sufficiently indicates the character of McDonogh."

The report of Brigadier-General Gaines to the Secretary of War, dated Fort Erie, August 23, 1814, contains the following:

"SIR:—I have the honor to communicate . . . the particulars of the battle fought at this place on the 15th inst., . . . which terminated in a signal victory in favor of the United States arms. . . . Fort Erie [was defended] by Captain Williams, with Major Trimble's command of the Nineteenth Infantry. . . . The night was dark and the early part of it raining, but the faithful sentinel slept not. One third of the troops were up at their posts. At half-past two o'clock the right column of the enemy approached, and though enveloped in darkness . . . was distinctly heard on our left and promptly

marked by our musketry. . . . My attention was now called to the right, where our batteries and lines were soon lighted by a most brilliant fire of cannon and musketry. It announced the approach of the center and left columns of the enemy, under Colonels Drummond and Scott. . . . That of the center, led by Colonel Drummond, was not long kept in check. It approached at once every assailable point of the fort, and with scaling ladders ascended the parapet, but was repulsed with dreadful carnage. The assault was twice repeated and as often checked, but the enemy having moved round in the ditch, covered by darkness added to the heavy cloud of smoke which had rolled from our cannon and musquetry enveloping surrounding objects, repeated the charge, reascended the ladders, and with their pikes, bayonets, and spears fell upon our gallant artillerists. The gallant spirits of our favorite Captain Williams and Lieutenants McDonogh and Watmough, with their brave men, were overcome; the two former and several of their men received deadly wounds. Our bastion was lost. Lieutenant McDonogh, being severely wounded, demanded quarter; it was refused by Colonel Drummond. The Lieutenant then seized a handspike and nobly defended himself until he was shot down with a pistol by the monster who had refused him quarter, who often reiterated the order, 'Give the damned Yankees no quarter.' This officer, whose bravery if it had been seasoned with virtue should have entitled him to the admiration of every soldier—this hardened murderer—soon met his fate. He was shot through the breast by _____ of the _____ regiment while repeating the order to give no quarter. . . . Major Hindman's efforts, aided by Major Trimble, having failed to drive the enemy from the bastion with the remaining artillery and infantry in the fort, Captain Birdsall, of the Fourth Rifle Regiment, gallantly rushed in through the gate-way to their assistance, and with some infantry charged the enemy, but was repulsed and the captain severely wounded. A detachment from the Eleventh, Nineteenth, and Twenty-second Infantry, under Captain Foster, of the Eleventh, were introduced over the interior bastion for the purpose of charging the enemy;

Major Hall, Assistant Inspector-General, very handsomely tendered his services to lead the charge. The charge was gallantly made by Captain Foster and Major Hall, but owing to the narrowness of the passage up the bastion, admitting only two or three men abreast, it failed. It was often repeated and as often checked. The enemy's force in the bastion was, however, much cut to pieces and diminished by our artillery and small-arms.

"At this moment every operation was arrested by the explosion of some cartridges deposited in the end of the stone building adjoining the contested bastion; the explosion was tremendous; it was decisive; the bastion was restored [? destroyed].

"Major Hindman, and the whole of the artillery under the command of that excellent officer, displayed a degree of gallantry and good conduct not to be surpassed. The particular situation of Captain Towson and the much lamented Captain Williams and Lieutenant McDonogh and that of Lieutenant Watmough as already described, with their respective commands, rendered them most conspicuous."

Miss O'Reilly writes that "according to the unquestioned traditions of Lieut. McDonogh's family, this explosion [in the bastion], so momentous in its consequences, was attributable to his act. Wounded, not killed, by the shot from Col. Drummond's pistol, he saw his brave comrades overwhelmed by the superior numbers of the British, the nobly-defended bastion lost, the fort in danger of capture. Forgetful of himself and the pain of his wounds, he thought only of his country and of the honor of her gallant army; he was heard to order back his men, to exclaim, 'May God have mercy on my soul,' and then with a supreme effort he mustered his fast ebbing strength and threw a lighted fuse or match into the ammunition chest which was under the platform of the demi-bastion." She supports this "family tradition" with a variety of corroborative evidence. "This version of the affair, it is said, was given to McDonogh's parents by his soldiers and fellow-officers who had been with him during the assault, when

they returned to Philadelphia." She cites several early publications which give substantially the same version.

The student of the episode is reminded, however, that several other explanations of the explosion have been given. Lossing, in his *Field Book of the War of 1812*, quotes from a letter written to him by one Jabez Fisk, then [1867] living near Adrian, Mich. This veteran, who was in the fight, wrote to the historian: "Three or four hundred of the enemy had got into the bastion. At this time an American officer came running up and said, 'General Gaines, the bastion is full. I can blow them all to hell in a minute.' They both passed back through a stone building, and in a short time the bastion and the British were high in the air. General Gaines soon returned, swinging his hat and shouting 'Hurrah for Little York!' This in allusion to the blowing up of the British magazine at Little York [Toronto], where General Pike was killed." Only by assuming that this reckless soldier was Lieut. McDonogh, can one reconcile this story with the McDonogh family tradition; an achievement made the more difficult by the fact that Lieut. McDonogh was mortally wounded, before the explosion occurred. Another account attributes the explosion to a corporal of American artillery, who disguised himself in the red coat and cap of a British deserter, and pretending to be busy in working a gun, applied a slow match to the ammunition under the platform, making his escape before the explosion occurred. Gen. Drummond's official report states that the ammunition under the platform caught fire from guns that were fired to the rear. Numerous other explanations, attributing it to accident in one form or another, are to be found in the reports and correspondence of the time. It will probably always remain an unsettled question.

It is not known where Lieutenant McDonogh was buried, if, indeed, his remains were recognizable and were buried at all. A member of the family visited Buffalo some years ago, and wrote [in 1887 or 1889]:

"I tried to find McDonogh's grave while I was at Buffalo. Those killed at Fort Erie were buried at Black Rock,

and the cemetery there was abandoned some years ago, the remains of the Fort Erie victims being removed to the present cemetery and buried in a soldiers' lot, along with a number of those who were killed in or died during the rebellion. The graves of the latter are marked, but there are seven unmarked belonging to those removed from Black Rock, and among them is probably McDonogh, though there is no record of his name and no means of identification so far as I got."

The letters of Lieut. McDonogh, so far as preserved, relating to his service in the War of 1812, follow in chronological order. It may be noted that his own signature corrects the usual spelling of his name, which in most of the histories appears erroneously as "McDonough." Various family and personal matters are omitted, as of no historic import.

COPY OF LETTERS WRITTEN BY PATRICK
McDONOGH, OF PHILADELPHIA, LIEUTENANT
IN THE SECOND REGIMENT, U. S. ARTIL-
LERY, DURING THE WAR OF 1812.

DISTRICT RENDEZVOUS, TRENTON, June 26th, 1812.

DEAR FATHER & MOTHER:—I arrived here safe on Wednesday and immediately took charge of the men entrusted to my care which I am very much pleased with. I am likewise pleased with the situation.

Dennis* was waiting for me on the wharf when I arrived. I saw him this morning but was engaged in taking the men down to the river so that I could but salute him. I don't think he is as well as when he left Philadelphia, and he says himself that he expects to die about October next.

The sergeant could not find Richards to get my mattress so that I have been sleeping these two nights past in a tent

* Supposed to be a brother of John O'Brien, the lieutenant's brother-in-law, husband to his sister Anne. He died of consumption not very long afterwards. He had been in the English army before he came to America.

on straw, as the Garrison Rules are that no officer or private shall sleep out. I wish you could have them (my mattresses) put on board of the Trenton Packet for me. She lies at Arch Street Wharf. Direct to Lieut. McDonogh, Trenton Depot. I forgot my clarionet which I would wish to have also.

Capt. Connelly passed through here the day after I arrived, I am told for Philada. I saw Mr. Andrews on his way to Phila. yesterday. Deveraux is here acting as Quartermaster's Sergeant. He made himself known to me the day after I arrived here.

I have seen Adjutant General's orders issued to the officers of the army requesting them to send in their claims if they have any on account of former services either in the army or volunteers so that they may be enabled to rank the officers on correct principles. I shall write to-morrow to the Adjutant. . . . I shall know by the middle of next week whether I will be allowed to remain here or not. If I do not you may expect to see me the week after. I am with affection & esteem, Your dutiful Son

PATK. McDONOGH.

NEW YORK, Septm. 7th, 1812.

DEAR FATHER & MOTHER:—I would have written to you from Brunswick but my orders to proceed to this place were so short that I had not time. I arrived here yesterday afternoon in the stage. . . . I expect we shall sail for Albany tomorrow morning where I shall write on my arrival. Give my love to my sisters & all. . . . Your affectionate Son

PATK. McDONOGH.

CAMP NEAR GREEN BUSH, Septm. 13th, 1812.

DEAR PARENTS:—I arrived here on Friday last, after a very pleasant sail of four days up the Hudson, which made up in some measure for the disagreeableness of the first part of our journey; after leaving Philad. on the 3d inst. we did not arrive in Trenton until late in the afternoon of the

4th, and had then to encamp on the wet ground, it pouring rain, which continued until the morning of the 6th. On the 5th the men made a march of $25\frac{1}{2}$ miles (to Brunswick) notwithstanding the rain and the badness of the roads; from thence they were transported in boats to New York; and then to Greenbush opposite to Albany, & within $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles of our present encampment.

We are now under marching orders; will strike our tents and take up our line of march for Plattsburg or Niagara on the 15th inst. I was not as much gratified on my arrival as I expected to have been with the sight of 3000 men encamped, as they are not encamped in line, but in Regiments. The ground they occupy is about three miles in circumference and is very uneven. Each Col. has the exclusive command of his own Regt. General Dearborn does not quarter in camp with us. He is a fine old gentleman and makes a very soldierly appearance. We were all introduced to him on our arrival. He was much pleased with our appearance and could not be persuaded our men were recruits. You have no idea of the number of Troops that daily enter and leave our camp. There have been about 3000 marched from this already; on the day we arrived there were one company of light artillery from New England, & two of heavy from Governor's Island that landed with us; this morning a very handsome company of artillery left here for Niagara; tomorrow the 5th Regt of Inftry goes; the day after it will be our turn with another company of the same Regt. & on the 20th and 25th there will be a Regtn. or two more.

Plattsburg is about 107 or 8 miles from here; Colo. Scot does not yet know our place of destination, if I have time after I hear, I will write, & let you know before we march. I am very much pleased with the Col. (he does everything to make us happy and comfortable) and with the officers generally. I write this on my trunk; we have so little time & our stay is so short that we have had no camp furniture made. . . . I am affectionately yours

P. McDONOGH.

P. S.—Tell the Major* there are large barracks building here. They will be finished by the time the drafted militia are sent on; but he is not to be expected to be quartered in a mansion house or a masonic hall; they are frame buildings, and well sheltered from the Norwesters by a range of hills in their rear. General Smyth, the Inspector General, quarters in a part of them that is finished. He goes with the 5th Regiment of Infantry to-morrow. I forgot to mention that there is a man to be shot to-morrow afternoon for deserting his post while on guard. He is one of the finest looking soldiers in camp and had but ten months to stay. He belongs to the Light Artillery.

Septm. 15th, 1812, 10 o'clock at night.

I could not get over to Albany to put this letter in the post-office, we were so busy preparing for the march; nor could we get off to-day as was contemplated, on account of the difficulty we found in procuring our ordnance and ammunition; but we are now ready and will positively start at daylight for Niagara where I expect we shall have plenty to do.

The man that was to be shot has been pardoned by the General with a promise that it would be the last (pardon). All the troops were paraded and the criminal was blindfolded when the pardon was read.

I wish you would write to Niagara so that I may hear from you before I march again.

P. McDONOGH.

CAMP GENEVA, Septm. 27th, 1812.
State of New York.

DEAR FATHER & MOTHER:—I take every opportunity of letting you know where I am, for I assure you the only uneasiness I have is on your account fearing that you should be unhappy or anxious to hear the result of our campaign.

* A little pleasantry at the expense of John Maitland, his brother-in-law, who held a major's commission in the Ninety-third Regiment, Pennsylvania Volunteers, and took the field with it for the defence of Philadelphia during the war.

We are now 187 miles from Albany and 447 from Philadelphia, by the route we have come. We left Greenbush on the 16th inst. & arrived in Albany; on the 17th we marched; passed through Schenectady, a handsome city, crossed the Mohawk River and encamped on its banks; the 18th, proceeded on our march up the Mohawk turnpike 75 miles, recrossed the Mohawk and entered Utica on the 25th. Utica surpasses for beauty and size any city that I have seen since I left Albany. The road so far has been a road of villages, generally handsome, laid out with a great deal of taste and containing more elegance and fashion than you would expect. The churches and public buildings in them might occupy a distinguished place in Philadelphia.

After writing my last letter we marched but half a mile that afternoon, and the following morning we passed through the Oneida tribe. We were much pleased with the reception they gave us: the Indian men were paraded on one side of the road saluting us, and the squaws on the other with baskets filled with fruit which they distributed among our men.

We are now between the lakes,—having crossed the Skaneateles and the Cayuga are now on the banks of Seneca. The next will be Canandaigua, sixteen miles from here. I never thought I could become so accustomed to marching; after measuring twenty miles I can rise the following morning as cheerful and light for twenty more as if I had not marched a mile, and as to eating and sleeping, we dare not think of such a thing out of camp. We often halt and sit down in the middle of a field after marching from ten to fourteen miles to dine on crackers and milk. But you are not to suppose that we have to put up with this always,—we sometimes have better. The men stand it very well; we have no trouble with them; in all the different changes—wet or dry, warm or cold, they are in good spirits.

We are but 130 miles from Niagara. I expect we shall move shortly after we get there, as there will be a sufficient force collected at three different points to enter Canada (at Niagara, Plattsburgh & Detroit), but you may be sure you will hear from me before we leave there.

Give my love to Anne, Mary and all the family. I shall charge my memory with all that occurs, to recount next winter—this time next year—in old Philadelphia, when we will be all happy and comfortable (I hope in God) round a good fire,—which, dear Father and Mother, is the first wish of your

Affectionate and dutiful son

PATRICK McDONOGH.

When you write you will direct to Lt. McDonogh, 2nd Regmt., U. S. Artillery, Niagara.

CAMP LEWISTON, October 16th, 1812.

MY DEAR SISTER:—I cannot conceive what can be the cause of my father or mother not writing to me. I have written four letters and received no answer. My last was on the night of the 12th inst.* previous to our marching for this place where we arrived the following morning before day when an unfortunate action commenced. I say unfortunate for it was truly so for us. Half an hour before day the troops crossed (composed principally of militia and about 600 regulars) under a very heavy fire from the enemy's batteries of red-hot shell, grape and round shot. In less than two hours the two batteries were taken and their troops retreated in all directions leaving us in complete possession of the hill and landing. A skirmishing ensued which lasted until two o'clock, the Englishmen dropping in all quarters; but after collecting their forces for seven miles around, they brought a strong reinforcement of English and Indians, and from that moment the scene began to change, although obstinately contested by our men who fought like heroes but without regularity or order, being entirely conducted by militia officers. Major General Vanrenselar—who ordered the attack, for certainly there was no plan in it, there being not even boats provided to take us over—is a General of this State, and I believe wished to have the merit of doing as much mischief as he could without the assistance

* The letter here alluded to is not included in the collection.

or advice of an officer or private of the regular army. It was with difficulty that we could procure permission to partake in it. General Smythe and his brigade were on their way to this place—his brigade consisting of twelve hundred fine men—when he (VanR.) sent an express with orders for him to return, when two or three hundred Regulars at furthest more than we had would have decided in our favor and prevented our brave soldiers from being made prisoners. The Militia whilst in action fought bravely, but they would leave it when they thought proper, and could not be prevailed on to return. Out of the 600 Regulars there are not more than 250 that are not killed or wounded and 130 are prisoners. Our Colonel is a prisoner, Lt. Roach is slightly wounded through the arm by a rifle-ball, and none of our men dangerously. Major Mullany is a prisoner: when the troops surrendered he hid himself in the rocks for a day, but the English sent two officers and two officers that were prisoners and a strong Guard to prevent the Indians from scalping those that were scattered, which they were busily engaged in doing, when the Major with six privates gave himself up. He behaved very well during the action. The English have lost most of their officers—General Brock was killed and his aid, McDonald of Detroit, mortally wounded; the 49th Regiment had half their choicest men that they boasted so much of cut to pieces; of two fine Companies of Grenadiers not a man left, and a great many Indians killed. They can say that they defeated us but they have no more to boast of—you may guess that they were well pinched. The battle ended between four and five P. M.,—fifteen minutes later a flag of truce arrived requesting a cessation of hostilities for three days. It was granted and will terminate to-day.

General Smythe's Brigade arrived here yesterday; the Major General has given up the command to the Brigadier and will I am in hopes return to civil life. I think that in a few days we will make them look about them and hope to direct my next from Canada. This is a very poor country,—miserable roads, and nothing to be had for love or money. The land opposite is very inviting, it looks well

and I understand they live well. The river between us is not wider than the Schuylkill. We are about six miles below Niagara Falls and within seven of Lake Ontario.

I hope you will answer this immediately and let me know how you all are; I will be very uneasy until I hear. . . . This letter will not I am afraid be a very pleasing one, being entirely filled with war, but I assure you we know of nothing else here. Excuse scribbling,—my trunk is my table. I close, expecting to be in action shortly. They have rec'd a reinforcement opposite; we hear a heavy firing from the forts 7 miles distant. Direct to fort Niagara or near it. I remain your affectionate brother,

P. McDONOGH.

I have spoken with a great deal of freedom of my officers, which if made public might injure me.

BLACK ROCK, Novmb. 15th, 1812.

I yesterday rec'd yours of the 13th of October. . . . I cannot account for the detention of your letter on the road; it must have remained some time at Niagara although I had written to the postmaster requesting him to send the letters up immediately on their arrival. I am sorry to hear Denis is no better; I thought the country would have benefited him. He as a soldier knows too well our situation to suppose we have leisure or convenience [for correspondence]. When I have something worth telling I will sit down and make his eyes sparkle. Here we are sometimes in grand spirits, at others in the dumps; when there are any signs of crossing we are cheerful, but the thought of passing a dull winter on the banks of the River brings down the lip. Since my last the Infantry were ordered to build huts to quarter in; after they had pitched upon the ground and some companies had struck their tents to march to it, an express arrived from General Dearborn or the Secretary of War which caused the order to be countermanded; and General Smythe in an address to the men of the state of New York says that in a few days we shall plant the American standard in Canada, that we will con-

quer or die, and that no savages shall cross to tarnish our ungathered laurels by ruthless deeds*; before this reaches you it will be in the Philadelphia newspapers. There was an order issued yesterday that the officers should dress as much like the soldiers as possible, so that they could not be distinguished from them at 150 paces, and that the soldiers should be drilled in squatting, or lying down and loading their muskets. There are from 1500 to 2000 drafted militia coming on from Pennsylvania, 200 of which, they say, are rille-men, and that they will all cross. They are within two or three days march of here. After they get a few days drilling we may expect to move. It has been snowing lightly for the three past days, but the bottom not being good the snow has not remained any depth on the ground. . . . My next I hope will be from Canada after a glorious victory. . . . Direct to Buffalo—it is within 2½ miles from here.

Dear Parents I am your affectionate and dutiful son,
P. McDONOGH.

P. S.—Roach is getting much stronger—he sits up part of the day. Major Mullany is still here and says he will remain until we get the town mayor opposite to exchange for him.
P. McD.

14th.—I open my letter to mention the probable time the armistice will cease. I have just rec'd orders to go to Niagara with twenty men for the purpose of bringing up all the ammunition & camp equipage there and to have them here by the 20th at furthest, when you may expect hostile operations will begin.

WILLIAMSVILLE, December the 14th, 1812.

DEAR PARENTS:—I received yours of the 10th this moment and one dated the 17th of last month on the 10th inst. It surprised me to find that Smith, who sutlered for us at Mantua, should furnish you with my bill, as I expected he

* Referring to the bombastic address of Brig.-Gen. Smyth, whose name is usually mis-spelled in Lt. McDonogh's letters.

was coming after us as he promised, & which indeed prevented me from paying him until I could better spare the money. He has, however, found means of adding to the amount as it was originally but 8 dollars, and in saying he lost by the officers of our detachment he said what was infamously false as all but myself settled with him. He might have come on after us to Albany; but we left him in Philad. I give you my word that I have not recd. a cent of pay since I left you nor do I want money more than to settle what little I owe which I will be enabled to do by the time this reaches you, as we expect the Paymaster the latter end of this month or the beginning of next, when I will forward Mr. Smith's account with the money for the boots and about \$15 more that I owe. I assure you it was not for want of principle that I did not pay them before. We were led to believe we would get money in Albany but were disappointed. My clothes have held out and we cant starve in the army. I commenced drawing my rations the 16th of this month, Keyler cooks for me, and as good living as bread & beef can give I have. . . . We are now encamped in the woods, building Huts which we expect to get into by the middle of next month—it is rather late in the season to be in tents. We have a very handsome situation on Elliott's [Ellicott's] Creek. The place is called after its owner, a Col. Williams of New York.* I hear the contemplated building his house next spring on the very ground on which we are building and desired that not a piece of timber should be cut down as he wished it entirely shaded, but I can promise him that by that time there will not be a

* Jonas Williams, for whom Williamsville is named, had been a clerk for the Holland Land Company, at Batavia. In the spring of 1805 he bought and rebuilt an abandoned mill on Eleven-Mile, otherwise Ellicott's Creek, and founded the village which has since borne his name. He died about 1820. Williamsville was a station for troops, both regulars and militia, during the greater part of the war. The principal barracks and hospital were on the creek, about a mile above the village. Here many soldiers, it is said British prisoners among them, died and were buried. The "Garrison Burying Ground" was for many years a neglected spot, marked only by grassy mounds and great maples. In 1898 the Buffalo Historical Society acquired title to the plot, including 5.4 acres, fenced it, and placed a cannon therein, suitably mounted and inscribed.

sappling standing within a mile of it. We marched from Black Rock to this place on the 11th inst. You have heard ere this of the duel that took place on the 12th between Generals Smith & Porter and the latter's statement of facts.* Genl. S. has left here on furlough; Col. Porter of the Light Artillery commands in his absence, and as we are 11 miles from the enemy everything is quiet. . . . Your affectionate son
PATRICK McDONOGH.

I need not mention that it was not I that commanded the gun-boat; no such good luck for us in this quarter—our hands are tied. Direct to Buffalo, it is the only post town near here—11 miles distant.

BLACK ROCK, March 19th, 1813.

DEAR PARENTS:—I rec'd yours of the 4th inst. . . . On the 16th we received our pay up to the last of December 1812. Through some mismanagement or neglect on the part of the Paymaster we were not paid up to this month, nor will any of the men transferred from Capt. Barker be paid until the paymaster comes round again, which I expect will be in two months, owing to the muster rolls being sent by Col. Porter to the wrong paymaster. If you see the Capt. mention it to him as he is security for them to some amount & requested that I would see it paid.

Being disappointed in my pay, I will not be able to send

* The story of this harmless duel has often been told. Porter charged Smyth with cowardice. A quarrel and challenge ensued; and on the afternoon of Dec. 12, the two officers left Black Rock in boats and were rowed to Grand Island. Gen. Smyth was accompanied by Lt.-Col. Winder, as second, while Lt. Angus served Porter in like capacity. The surgeon was Dr. Roberts, and the assistant-surgeon Dr. Usher Parsons, afterwards surgeon of Perry's flag-ship *Lawrence*, and author of one of the many works regarding the battle of Lake Erie. The surgeons' services were superfluous on this occasion. Gen. Smyth and his second in command faced each other at 12 paces, exchanged shots that did not take effect, other than to make it possible for each to admit that his opponent was a gentleman and no coward. Three months prior to this time, Gen. Porter and Col. Solomon Van Rensselaer had quarreled and the former had challenged to a duel, but Gen. Stephen Van Rensselaer threatened them with arrest and watched them so closely that they never got to the dueling-ground on Grand Island. There appears to have been much quarreling and bitter feeling among the officers in command, in the opening months of the Niagara campaign.

you the money I expected yet. After paying what I owe here I had but 28 dollars left to purchase some things I was very much in want of. In expectation of receiving what was due to me, I bought several things from Capt. Barker—his bed & bedding &c., and took part in his debts. On his arrival at Albany he enclosed 180 dollars to me to pay the remainder. I mention this for your satisfaction & to show you that I have not been worse off than the other officers, but hope you will not mention it to any one, for should it come to their ears they might feel hurt as the situation of the officers is known to each other only. And in respect to money matters they are to each other as brothers, particularly in our regiment. I thank Col. Scott for the character he gave you of me and hope you will never find me unworthy of it. On the different stations and under the several commanding officers I have been placed I always endeavored to do my duty & I trust allowed no one to infringe upon my rights, nor did I look to any for favour or partiality. With Col. Scott I was rather reserved as I could not forget his arresting me for so trifling a cause.* He has not a better opportunity of knowing who will be promoted than ourselves. It is presumed that those who have friends in Washington to intercede for them will stand the best chance. It is principally on that account that Capt. Barker has gone on. I have written to the Secretary merely to remind him that there is such a person in existence as myself. An officer—let his grade be what it may—is entitled to the attention of his government to his claims or applications; notwithstanding, most is done by favour. . . . I look to next summer to be the happiest of any you have seen for years. . . .

We had a cannonading here on the 17th inst. It commenced from an alarm given on the Lake at one o'clock in the morning, and lasted until dark the next evening. There have been several expeditions on foot for crossing, but none has been carried into effect. They are very weak on the opposite side & we are not strong altho double their number on the Niagara [one word torn, probably].

* Nothing seems to be known about this arrest, except the slight information contained in a letter written many years later by McDonogh's sister Anne to her son at West Point and in his reply to the same.

We have had correct information from Genl. Harrison: he has had to entrench, his army being so weakened by the defeat of Winchester and some whose term of service had expired, returning, that an issue of an engagement would have been very doubtful, and perhaps fatal. They were in good spirits, and such was the secrecy observed in camp that the men were ignorant of their own weakness, not a line was permitted to go out of camp.

Father, I wish if you can spare the time you would call on Col. Denis (son-in-law to the District Marshal) who holds my receipts for upwards of 500 dollars, and tell him that I request him to give you a receipt for the settlement of my recruiting accounts or to return my account with the vouchers and a receipt for the money I returned to him.

. . . Your dutiful son,

P. McDONOGH.

BLACK ROCK, April 25th, 1813.

DEAR PARENTS:—It is now nearly two months since the date of the last letter rec'd from you, and all I fear is that your last letter is lost, as one that came by the last mail directed to me was taken out with the papers by the man we board with and was dropped either in Buffalo or on the road between there and here. I could not blame the old man as it was an accident, and through pure good-nature he took it out of the office, knowing my anxiety to hear from you all and that I expected a letter by every mail—which arrives but twice a week. I have been very unwell for a week back, but am getting better.

We are fast preparing for the field. I expect that in about four weeks we shall make a move. Our division will consist of about 3500 or 3800 regulars, and I don't think any militia will be called on to cross. Our company is attached to the 2d Brigade, commanded by Genl. Winder; it will be about 1500 strong. Genl. Boyd will have the remainder. Major Genl. Lewis commands the whole. The Generals have all arrived and the troops to make up the complement are expected daily. Things appear to be in better train than they ever were. Col. Scott I think has been ordered

to Sacketts Harbour or he would have been here before now. I have not heard from Capt. Barker or any of my acquaintances since he left here. I hear that Capt. C. has been struck off the rolls; his girl followed him to Carlyle and acted as his waiter in men's clothes. When it was found out an officer applied for his arrest; the Adjutant waited on him for that purpose—he told the Adjutant that he had received a letter from the Adjt. General informing him of his dismissal from the service and, of course, he did not come under martial law.

You may remember that Mr. Ward wrote to me some time since respecting his friend's son (Saml. Wilkins). The young man procured a furlough (or his father for him through Genl. Izard) about the 15th of Feby.; owing to the anxiety his father expressed for him in a letter of thanks to me in December last I, to assist him in getting home, went his security to our landlord for thirty dollars for one month; he has since written to some of the men and never mentioned a word about it. I wish my father would call on Mr. Wilkins and mention the matter to him. Should the son deny it I can procure the note which is in the landlord's hands. Mr. Wilkins lives in Chestnut St. opposite to Strawberry. There have been a great many promotions in the Infantry and some in the 3d regt. of Artillery, but the 2d remains stationary, all that have been promoted were through interest. The 12th & 20th regiments are quite in an uproar; all the subalterns of the 20th have . . . [illegible; presumably "obtained"] their parchment; the Captains of the 12th have drawn up a memorial and had it signed by a great many officers on this station, and one of the Captains has gone on with it to remonstrate. A first lieutenant of our regiment has been promoted to a captaincy in the 20th, a Thomas M. Randolph,—a fine fellow but he has no military turn. He had very powerful friends. I mention this to you—it is a very delicate thing to talk of an officer out of the army. I have no other chance of promotion than what may fall to my lot in the field—a few balls might make some vacancies. . . . Your affectionate & dutiful son

P. McDONOGH.

NEWARK, May the 30th, 1813.

DEAR PARENTS:—It is with pleasure I inform you that we are at last in Canada. We embarked for this place in boats and crossed on the 27th. The enemy met us on the shore and made a very obstinate resistance for about 15 minutes when they retreated to Queenstown Heights, spiking their guns and destroying their stores and ammunition as they went. Fort George having been previously burned almost to ashes by hot shot from our Fort and batteries, was evacuated on our approach. We might have taken them all prisoners were it not that our Generals advanced too cautiously, being apprehensive of explosions. Their loss was double that of ours in killed and wounded. Captain Roach has been slightly touched again, in the right arm. As he was without a command Col. Scott gave him the command of a three-pounder with eight men from our company. On the 28th we proceeded on our march towards Fort Erie thinking they would make a stand there, but on our arrival at Queenstown found that they had taken a different route, blown up their Fort, and were drawing their forces towards York. Our Brigade was immediately ordered to cross by water to cut off their retreat to Kingston. We were all embarked this morning at daylight, but the wind being very high and against us, the General countermanded the order, considering it too great a risk in open boats, as it is almost impossible for a boat to live on the Lake when there is any kind of a swell. We are to march around by land to-morrow—or next day at farthest. The roads, they say, are very bad. The distance around the head of the Lake to York is from ninety to one hundred miles.

This is a delightful place. The people had evacuated it but are returning daily. They are generally loyal for a few miles back. . . .

When I spoke of the dull winter I spent in this country I did not mean I was tired of the army,—on the contrary, nothing could please me better, particularly when we are on the move. You need not write to me again until you hear from me as I cannot tell you where to direct;—should you have anything of moment, by addressing your letter

to Fort Niagara, to be forwarded to General Winder's Brigade, I may get it, but it is doubtful. . . . Your affectionate & dutiful son

P. McDONOGH.

FORT GEORGE, August 4th, 1813.

DEAR PARENTS:—Mr. Steele who will hand you this has been good enough to call on me for a letter. I have nothing worth writing to you about except to tell you I am well and that we still remain here doing nothing, nor do I know when we shall move—Our fleet is now lying off this place expecting the British fleet every hour. We hear they are building another forty-four gun ship; if so, I do not think they will venture out until she is finished. Col. Scott went on an expedition to the head of the Lake and from there to York in search of British stores; but it seems they were apprised of our intentions before the fleet reached there, as they had almost everything removed. We took 4 or 500 barrels of flour and some of the officers' baggage at York, burnt their barracks, and returned. It is reported here that Genl. Wilkinson & the Secretary of War are coming on,—if this be true, we may yet do something. Genl. Williams arrived here some days back; he commands our Brigade. I think if things go on no better than they have done, I shall be ashamed to return to Philadelphia next winter even should I get permission to do so. War characters must rank mighty low there. . . . Your affectionate & dutiful son
PATRICK McDONOGH.

I have just received Anne's letter and shall answer it in a day or two. She enquires for Wm. Peters: he was wounded at the battle of Stony Creek—in the shoulder, and has had his arm taken off at the socket. The others, with the exception of Humphries, of whom I know nothing, are well. I wish I could recommend Lt. P. to your attention; if I could have done it I would have written by him, but he left here in disgrace; the officers of his regt. were about arresting him, one of the charges against him being cowardice. I tell you this to caution you as his character did

not stand very high before he entered the service. I was not intimate with him—we merely spoke when we met. You know how delicate we should be about meddling with an officer's reputation as a soldier, and of course will not make this public. I assure you it hurts me when I think that any one but the family should read my letters.

P. McDONOGH.

FORT GEORGE, Augt. 9th, 1813.

MY DEAR SISTER:—The receipt of your letter of the 26th of July afforded me inexpressible pleasure. . . . We (the 2d Brigade) were to have embarked on board the fleet on Saturday last, where for we knew not, but judged for Kingston: the sudden appearance of the British fleet changed the scene!—at daylight they were discovered 8 or 10 miles from here, rather above us;—they came up during the night along their own shore & cut across it is supposed with the intention to surprise and board our ships which were at anchor 4 miles below here;—they succeeded in getting to windward but daylight appeared too soon for them to do more. Our gallant Commodore immediately weighed anchor and made for them notwithstanding their favorable position but could not bring them to action. Sir James'* object now appeared to be to get us in a position where he could attack the P[] with two vessels at once, but Chauncy manœuvred too well for him and had the wind been in his favour, would have brought him to action long before this,—but the wind has been constantly wavering or shifting, and as if it were to be [? allied *illegible*] against him. He is yet in pursuit of them. I think before I close this I will be enabled to give you an account of the battle in spite of Sir James' endeavour to avoid it.

I am sorry to say that two of our schooners upset in a gale the night before last (the Paul Hamilton & the Scourge, commanded by Lieutenants Winters & Osgood) while hanging on the left of the British fleet, and the officers and sixty of the crew are lost.

* Sir James Yeo.

On Friday last I dined on board the Growler, commanded by Lt. Deacon, son-in-law to Mrs. Hutchins of Burlington. He with three or four other officers of my acquaintance were to partake of a camp dinner with me the following day, but they found better fish to fry. If you see any one that is acquainted with Lt. Deacon's family, let them know he was well at that date, as his wife I am sure will be uneasy about him. . . . I have answered your inquiries about the men in my letter sent by Mr. Steele;—if you let the men's wives torment you, you will have more than enough to do,—their husbands have plenty of time to write and every convenience, and indeed the majority of them do write, and they receive more or less mail every week.

Tuesday, Augt. 10th.

This is the fourth day the fleets have been in sight of each other and no engagement yet! We are all anxiety here and will be so until we know the issue. I can detain this no longer the mail goes to-night. . . . Your affectionate brother,

P. McDONOGH.

P. S.—I fear this letter is illy calculated to rouse your spirits, but you must consider I am getting old & conceit it is from an old man* and that we have to divide our time—begin writing in the morning & before you are well seated you have to attend a call of the pickets, or other party. I was out all the afternoon & had a few shots at the Indians, but I believe they are very weak in this neighborhood now as they will not stand a fight. Ours are coming over to-morrow or next day to the number of four or five hundred.

P. McD.

FORT GEORGE, Septr. 10th, 1813.

DEAR PARENTS:—I have long looked for a letter from you & were it not for Anne's good-nature would be very uneasy about you. This will be handed to you by Capt. Biddle of our regt. I know you will be glad to see him; he is a friend of mine, has served in the same engagements,

* As well as it can be computed, he was not yet thirty years of age.

partaken of the same hardships as well as of the same glory, and is a brave officer—I say this as I know you can judge how much it tends to unite and attach fellow-soldiers to each other. He can give you an account of our present situation & of what we may expect to do this campaign.—I fear it will not end before the winter sets in; however we are soldiers & bound for all weathers.

I mentioned the death of Wm. Peters in my last letter to Anne, since which I have rec'd a letter from Mrs. Peters. I can feel for her situation, but I assure you Mother we have so many applications of the same kind by almost every mail that were we to attend to them or encourage them, our pay would not cover the cost of postage on all we would receive; and this is not for one person, nor for once, but for five years and for one hundred persons to each company. Nor are they ever satisfied; if it is not for their pay or to know whether they are alive, its to procure them a furlough;—whenever they can find out an officer's name & address, they are not at a loss for excuses to torment him.

I wish very much to know to which regt. Mr. Wale is appointed. I am sorry he didn't get a higher grade, but we must look forward and hope. I think since the Senate has attended to the Army that promotions will not go altogether by favour. Nothing can hurt the pride of a soldier who has seen service and is acquainted with his duty more than to put over him a favourite that he has to teach. . . .
Your affectionate son,

P. McDONOGH.

FORT GEORGE, Sept. 10th, 1813.

DEAR SISTER:—Although I have so lately written to you and have so little to say, I cannot lose so favourable an opportunity of forwarding by Capt. Biddle of our regiment a line, knowing the constant anxiety of your mind.

In my last I mentioned the arrival of Genl. Wilkinson: he has as yet been confined to his room by sickness, but is recovering fast. Commodore Chauncy sailed on the morning of the 7th. Sir James, then off this place, made every

sail, leaving the Commodore to follow, who, you may be sure, is much mortified to find he cannot bring him to action. There are but few of our vessels that can sail as well as those of the British and they have to tow the duller sailers, which I fear will prevent him from ever coming up with them. We lost sight of them with the twilight this evening about three miles apart, every inch of canvas spread,—Chauncy still in pursuit & before the wind. . . .

I am well in health, & well content in mind; I get more attached to the service every day, and more reconciled to the privations & toils attending it. I look anxiously for quartering in Montreal next winter & until the British gentry are sent home you must be content with all the affection ink and paper can convey from, Your brother

P. McDONOGH.

FORT GEORGE, October 8th, 1813.

DEAR SISTER:—I had nearly concluded before I received your last that you had totally forgotten your promise, since which I must acknowledge you have only done so in part, as you edge in a letter now and then as it were to prevent my spirits from completely deserting me. . . . I am happy to hear that Perry's Victory has spread so much joy throughout the United States,—it looks something like recompense for his gallantry. Poor Chauncy I fear will never get half the credit he deserves; he has done as much as man could do in his situation. . . .

The Militia and Indians under Major Chapin had a desperate engagement with a party of the British on the afternoon of the 6th inst. It lasted about two hours and a half. After expending some thousand rounds of cartridges, this brilliant affair ended with the loss on our part of one Indian killed, one mortally wounded and one slightly, one regular soldier who stole out to have a finger in the pie was also slightly wounded, & militia none—being rather prudent: the loss on the part of the British were, I suppose, half the number. From the list of killed and wounded you may guess the distance from which they fought. It appears those

that fell were considered foolhardy by the Militia for advancing within point blank distance. They never return from a skirmish wherein the Indians have had anything to do, without accusing the Major of cowardice, skulking behind trees, not advancing, &c. But he has made noise enough to fill a column of the newspaper, and his fame of course will be reiterated,—if you dont see an extract from the *Buffalo Gazette* shortly I shall be very much disappointed. We have just fired a salute from the Fort in consequence of the victory obtained by the Argus over the Barba. I cannot tell you whether I shall remain here or not—it will depend entirely upon circumstances. Col. Scott & all the officers are anxious to go as it is pretty certain we shall not be attacked here. We learn from deserters that the British are sending their troops, with the exception of 500 (which they leave, I suppose, for the purpose of preventing us from sleighing or going at large this winter) to Kingston, and they will not be foolish enough to attack us with so small a force; nor would I wish them to attempt it with less than would fill our ditches. We can attempt nothing—even if our regular force would justify us in so doing, as Col. Scott's positive orders are not to suffer himself to be drawn out of the Fort on any terms whatever, or to permit an officer to leave it. . . . Your affectionate brother,

P. McDONOGH.

ORDERS.

SACKETTS HARBOR, Dec. 10, 1813.

SIR:—You will repair as speedily as possible to District No. 4, establish a Rendezvous at any point your judgment may suggest, & prosecute the recruiting service with great diligence for the 2nd. U. S. Artillery. Upon your arrival report yourself to the Commanding Officer of the district, draw funds & receive his instructions. You will be careful, Sir, & not suffer your recruits to be attached to any other corps or company than that to which you belong. Accept

my good wishes for your success, & prosperity & health of family. Yours very respectfully,

J. HINDMAN,
Major Com'g. Detacht. 2d U. S. Artillery.

P. S.—These orders are by instructions from the War Depart.

Lt. McDONOGH, 2d U. S. Artly.

UTICA, December 13th, 1813.

DEAR PARENTS:—I am happy to inform you that I am in hopes of eating my Christmas dinner with you;—I have just this moment arrived from the Harbour on my way to Philadelphia. Will leave here to-morrow morning for Albany; where I may probably be detained two days, but will lose no time after that in getting to Philadelphia where I am in hopes of meeting you all well and happy. Give my love to all the family P. McDONOGH.

FROM CAPT. TOWSON TO LIEUT. McDONOGH.

SACKETTS HARBOR, Decr. 25th, 1813.

DEAR MC.—I expect you are now shaving, cleaning your teeth, & putting on a clean shirt, in honour of the day, & to appear more desirable in the eyes of some fair Dulcina, whom you expect to help to the side bone of a turkey with oyster sauce, &c., &c., &c., drink a glass of old Madeira with the old gentleman, and then attend Miss to some of the many [*illegible*] of pleasure your gay city affords. My dear boy I wish you every pleasure that Christmas, & every happiness that life possesses.

I too have scraped my face with a dull razor, put on a clean, tho ragged, shirt, but alas! have neither pretty girls to visit nor fat turkeys to carve.—I have just received a formal petition *from*: & have granted permission to a party of my company to celebrate the day; they have bespoke a dinner at a public house (the best our Town affords), have elected a President & V. P.,—proposed toasts with all the

hilarity & independence of true Americans. Poor Devils, they see hard times enough and deserve, if any men do, the privilege of sweetening the bitter cup of life that has fallen to their lots.

I received your letter & money inclosed by post. The paymaster has not visited us since, much to our mortification you may suppose. But why the Devil did you pay the postage on your letter, & why did you not retain the price of the Book I purchased of you! There appears to me an unfriendly suspicion that our letters will not be agreeably received when we pay the postage—a suspicion that would be very unjust & I hope never will be entertained by you of me.

I have very comfortable quarters where I now am—my men are healthy & in fine spirits, tho the other Troops are very sickly. Genl. Wilkinson has ordered all the troops from this post to French Mills except Genl. Harrison's & the artillery. The Genl. has issued some very severe Orders on the conduct of most of the Genl. officers & of a Court Martial. I have not seen them. Colo. Mitchell is with the army & very unwell I am told. Majr. Johnson is dead. Colo. Scott mentions in a letter to Majr. Hindman that Genl. W. promised to send me a furlough, the Majr. received this letter on our return from Ogdensburg but never told me of it until the day before yesterday. However I could not leave this now since you have left me.

I wish you to enjoy every pleasure Phila. affords but you must tax your leisure moments for an *half hour now and then* to afford pleasure to your old brother soldier by dropping a letter to him (*without the postage paid*).

Yours, ever, with the warmest friendship,

N. TOWSON.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

PHILA. 19 Jan. 1814.

DR. SIR:—By the morning Report of the day, I find there are 22 reported sick—such of these as are really sick

must remain—and the company must be filled up by the Detachments of other artillery corps; and these not being sufficient, by volunteers from such other corps as may be most advantageous to the public service.—I wish you to arrange this while below—the public service must supercede all other considerations. I trust to your making this arrangement so effective as that it may be at once issued in an order. I am
Dr. Sir Your obd. servt. WM. DUANE

Adj. Gen.

LT. McDONOGH, 2d. Artillery Fort Mifflin.

4TH MILITARY RECRUITING DISTRICT

PHILADA. Jan'y 19, 1814.

SIR: You will turn over to Lieut. Bunting your Rendezvous, with all the funds & public property in your hands, which has been furnished you for the recruiting service, and take his receipts.

I have the honor to be, sir, Yr obt. servt.

J. GIBSON

Inspr. Genl. Comm'dg.

LIEUT. PATK. McDONOGH, 2nd Artillery, Phila.

V. THE SORTIE FROM FORT ERIE.

RECOLLECTIONS COMMUNICATED BY WILLIAM A.

BIRD TO CHAS. D. NORTON, IN A LETTER

DATED BLACK ROCK, FEB. 25, 1865.

In the year 1815—the year after the sortie—I resided with Gen. Porter in the small fort on the bank of the river, back of where my home stands.* I came from Troy with him early in July. On our arrival at Black Rock we found only a few houses, which had been put up hastily subsequent to the burning in December, 1813.

There was one company in the smaller fort below. The officer commanding the latter very politely offered that to Gen. Porter, and removed with his company to the larger one, where there was abundance of room for the two companies.

When we moved into those quarters our family consisted of Gen. Porter, myself and a man-servant who served all purposes of cook, waiter, etc. Shortly after, however, Mr. Covert (who had been his housekeeper before, and during the first two years of the war and from whom I learned many interesting incidents of the war), came on from Geneva, and made our quarters more comfortable.

During that season hardly a day passed that the General was not visited by some one of the officers of the army. The

* The residence of Mr. Bird, still owned and occupied by the family, at No. 1118 Niagara Street.

occurrences of the previous campaigns were of course the frequent subjects of remark. Capt. Robert Flemming was more than once a visitor and remained with us a day or two. He was an officer under Gen. Porter's command at the sortie, of whom Gen. Porter in his official report remarked that "he was, as he always was, in the front of the fight." The details of the sortie were much canvassed over, and the whole affair was treated by Capt. Flemming as an enterprise of Gen. Porter's; and although I cannot state any particular remark, I well recollect he gave the glory of it to him.

Major Donald Fraser was an aid to Gen. Porter; and with him I was long intimately associated, and had frequent conversations with him in relation to the war. He told me that before the sortie Cols. Wood and McCrea were several evenings with Gen. Porter in his quarters, and that when they came, he and all others were required to retire; that Gen. Porter had interviews with Gen. Brown; that he had no hint or intimation of the object of these interviews; that Gen. Porter directed Riddle and himself to cut out the road from Towson's battery through the woods, directing them how and where to cut, but did not inform them of the object; and that he was kept entirely ignorant of the proposed movement until the evening before the sortie; that in subsequent conversations with Gen. Porter he was informed that the visits of Wood and McCrea were for planning the sortie; that Gen. Brown hesitated and requested him (Gen. Porter) to draw up a plan, which he did, in writing, and explained it to Gen. Brown; and that he left the paper with him, and that the whole affair was arranged by Gen. Porter, Wood, and McCrea.

Gen. Porter has related to me more than once the same circumstances; particularly, that he gave to Gen. Brown a written programme in detail, and that he left the paper with him.

The question is asked, Why is there not a copy of this paper? My answer is, the circumstances of the case did not allow one to be made. Gen. Porter drew up this programme in his own handwriting, to show and explain to Gen. Brown.

Brown very naturally asked him to leave the paper with him to consider upon (for I think he did not readily and at once fall into it). Gen. Porter could not refuse, nor ask a copy; and it would have been an exercise of extreme caution and distrust for him to have taken a copy before showing it to Gen. Brown. He was not seeking credit for himself, but was intent on the enterprise in which he was the principal actor, and which resulted so much to the glory of our army and to the relief of the anxious inhabitants on this side of the river.

The official reports and history have established the facts that Gen. Porter's aids cut out the road from Towson's battery, and that Gen. Porter, who had under his immediate command only the volunteers and Indians, was that day invested with the command of all the troops, regulars as well as volunteers; although there were in the fort several officers of the regular army of superior rank—Ripley, Gaines and perhaps others not now recollected. These circumstances would seem to point him out as the moving spirit and the one responsible for the enterprise.

I went over to Fort Erie in 1815 with Gen. Porter, Gov. Tompkins and others. We went over the whole ground where the British batteries were, in the edge of the woods—the batteries even then as they had been left, the broken guns and other remnants of the war. Gen. Porter explained to Gov. Tompkins the position of the troops and the plan of the attack at the sortie.

When upon the old fort, Gen. Porter explained the attack made by Col. Drummond on the 15th August, when the enemy got possession of the bastion at the northeast angle of the fort. He explained where and how our troops had hastily drawn up two pieces of artillery and would have, in a few minutes, raked the bastion with grape and cannister, which would have been almost as certain destruction to the enemy on this bastion, as its explosion [which] occurred at the moment, killing Col. Drummond and some 300 or 400 men. Major Fraser was an aid to Gen. Beacon, and with him for some two years after the war. He doubtless fought his battles over, and particularly those in which Brown was

in command, and he does not seem to have heard anything to alter his opinion and belief in relation to this sortie, for he invariably stated it to have been planned by Gen. Porter, Wood, and McCrea.

VI. A WAR-TIME LETTER-BOOK.

EXTRACTS FROM THE CORRESPONDENCE OF

JONAS HARRISON.

COLLECTOR OF CUSTOMS FOR THE DISTRICT OF NIAGARA
DURING THE WAR OF 1812.

In the possession of the Buffalo Historical Society is an old blank-book of ledger size, which was used as a letter-book by Jonas Harrison. In it he copied the letters he wrote, and some of those he received, relating to his public duties as Collector of Customs for the District of Niagara, and afterwards as Collector of Internal Revenue for the 25th collection district, which comprised Genesee County and all the western part of New York State. The first entry in the book is dated "Batavia 24th December 1813," and the last "Buffalo, 20 July, 1819." It was at about this last date that he ceased to be Collector. The volume was given to the Historical Society in 1885 by John Porter, then of Annapolis, Md., formerly of Lewiston, N. Y. At the back of the volume have been written, presumably by Mr. Porter, a brief sketch of Mr. Harrison, and some comment on his letters. "The author of the foregoing copies of letters," says this sketch, "was Jonas Harrison, who at the date of the letters was a very prominent man in Western New York. At the date of the first letter, December, 1813, he was Collector of

Customs for the District of Niagara, afterwards appointed Collector of Internal Revenue for the 25th collection district, which comprised Genesee County and all the western part of the State, and which he continued to be until about the date of the last copy of a letter, July 20, 1819. He was the father of our late fellow citizen James C. Harrison. He built the house that was situated on the corner of Washington and Batavia Street [now Broadway], on the present site of the Buffalo Savings Bank,* and at the time of its building it was considered a wonderful structure, and known all over the County of Niagara (which then included Erie County) as the 'Harrison house.' James C. Harrison was born in that house in the latter part of the year 1818 or early in the year 1819."

Before quoting further from this sketch it is well to present a few of Mr. Harrison's letters. The volume affords interesting material for a history of the collection of Federal revenues in Western New York in the early days; but the present purpose is only to draw from it what Mr. Harrison wrote regarding certain events of the War of 1812, in some of which he was a participant. In a communication to the Hon. Samuel H. Smith, Commissioner of the Revenue, dated "Batavia, 24th December, 1813," Mr. Harrison wrote as follows:

SIR: On Sunday morning the 19th inst. the British landed unobserved about 900 Indians and 600 or 700 Regulars at the Five Mile Meadow, about half way between Lewiston and Fort Niagara. They took the Fort about four o'clock in the morning without resistance, and under circumstances the most singular. They showed themselves at Lewiston about sunrise and strange to tell we had not more than three to five minutes notice of their being on our side before their Indians were at my house. They, as far as we can learn (for it is said they are still in possession of the Country) commenced an indiscriminate slaughter of men, women and children, together with burning every house, barn, outhouse and hovel that could take fire. The citizens

* The building opposite the Public Library; the bank moved from it to new quarters in 1901.

about Lewiston and its vicinity below the slope or highland that forms the Falls of Niagara escaped by the Ridge Road towards Genesee Falls, all going the one road, on foot, old and young, men, women and children, flying from their beds, some not more than half dressed without shoes or stockings, together with men on horseback, wagons, carts, sleighs and sleds, overturning and crushing each other, stimulated by the horrid yells of the 900 savages on the pursuit, which lasted eight miles, formed a scene awful and terrific in the extreme. The small military force we had were the first to fly. The few Citizens that could previously be induced to stand guard had become worn out, and the watch at the meadow must have been very unfaithfully kept. We now reproach ourselves for having remained so long in false security. We have lost our all and the scene is over. I escaped with my most valuable papers. My little family was ten miles in advance, on the road. They are now with me at this place, the Capital of Genesee County, which I intend to make my future residence unless driven from it. There is a Post Office kept here. I beg that you will be so good as to direct your future commands to me here.

I have the honor to be

Your most obt. servant,

J. HARRISON.

Six days later Mr. Harrison addressed the following letter to the Hon. Richard Rush, at that time Comptroller of the Treasury:

BATAVIA, 31st Decr., 1813.

SIR: Enclosed I have the honor to transmit to you my account current for the last quarter of the present year.

Ere this comes to hand you will doubtless have heard of the destruction of Lewiston and the murder of such of its citizens as fell into the enemy's hands. Notwithstanding what had previously taken place, we had no evidence that the enemy had actually landed on our shore more than five minutes before their Indians were at my house. It was with considerable difficulty I escaped. I find on examination that I have most of the public papers with me, but the

volumes of the U. S. Laws are gone together with the book in which I kept an account of my fees, emoluments, etc., which I beg may excuse my not making out one now under oath agreeably to former directions and practice; they however for this last year were very trifling, and did not in the whole exceed eight dollars.

The enemy it seems had taken Fort Niagara in the night before they came to Lewiston, and that too with such silence that we had not the most distant idea of their having done so. Fort Niagara is seven miles down the river and was when taken perhaps one of the most scientific well-found fortresses in America, containing at least 200 effectives independent of the sick and impotent of every description—this is a fact let the official report (if any is made) say what it may, but commanded by the same Captain Leonard that I have sometimes mentioned in my letters. The public property in the fort must have been immense. We felt in a great measure secure at Lewiston from large parties as long [as] our troops held Fort Niagara, and no one thought of its being given up without a siege. There was little or no force at Lewiston except some militia officers. As a force was expected on there every day a few of the citizens myself among the number voluntarily stood guard at night for the purpose of keeping off marauders that might cross from Queenston or other places near Lewiston.

There was positively but one large gun discharged at Fort Niagara at the time it must have been taken. This was enough to alarm us and we rallied at a house previously agreed upon, but were told by Major Bennett who still nominally commanded at Lewiston—I say nominally, for his force being with himself militia had principally deserted, or rather as they said, gone home, that it was no signal of alarm—that the signal of alarm agreed upon by him and Capt. Leonard was, if the fort was attacked, three discharges from one of his 18-pounders, if there was but one or two discharges it was to be considered nothing more than a false alarm; on receiving this information those citizens that were not on guard went to their respective houses. I having been up for two or three nights previous threw myself

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on the bed and had well-nigh been caught asleep by their Indians. My house, barn, etc., together with my property, after being made use of a day or two by their officers were reduced to ashes. I have come here as being the nearest place of safety, though in fact the citizens here feel themselves unsafe and keep their things packed up ready for a move. For my own part I do not believe that the English will venture their force so far from the river.

Your honor will recollect that it has heretofore been the custom to adjust my accounts half-yearly, and give me an authorization to draw on the Collector of New York for what was found due. If that has taken place during the last year I have never received the authorization. As I have a family to support and now without property of any kind except some land that is unproductive, you will confer an everlasting kindness by having my accounts immediately adjusted and sending me as soon as may be an authorization to draw as before for what may be due, as two hundred and fifty dollars would be of the utmost importance to me.

Your obliging and successful attention to my request relative to the Internal Revenue was calculated at once to gratify delicacy and enforce obligation. With sentiments of the greatest respect I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your most obt. Servt.,

J. HARRISON.

NOTE. When we left Lewiston it was about sunrise on the morning of the 19th. The enemy were then firing a Royal Salute from our guns at Fort Niagara which we then took for an attack on the fort.

NOTE 2d. The enemy are still on our side and hold possession of Fort Niagara and scour the remaining country by their parties. Some of our people have been to Lewiston since the 19th, from whom and other sources I have collected the foregoing information, that is such as I did not before know, with the addition that as far as yet known every person that they got in their power except one or two that escaped after being taken, were immediately killed, or

killed a short time afterwards. They were principally citizens with their families all making their escape as fast as possible. Their bodies have been found in holes and laying [*sic*] about the street—in most instances with their heads cut off their bodies torn open and their hearts taken out—some scalped, some not, but all hacked and cut in the most brutal manner, many with their tongues cut out; some partially eaten by the hogs—the street is represented as being strewn with the dead bodies of cattle, hogs, together with human beings. All the buildings of any consequence, also stacks of hay and grain for about seven miles each way, that is up the river to the Falls and out in the country on the Ridge road, are burnt and destroyed. [J. H.]

Commenting on the foregoing, the sketch above spoken of, presumably written by John Porter, contains the following:

“He [Harrison] was evidently, from his letters, a person who was inclined to exaggerate in his statements of passing events. In his account of the burning of Lewiston and the events immediately following . . . he states that he had only five minutes’ notice of the crossing of the river of the British and Indians, and in the same letter he states that upon leaving, his little family was ten miles in advance—rapid traveling for five minutes’ notice. He states the number of Indians at 900 and of the British 700 or 800. The true fact was that there probably was not to exceed 300 or 400 of both Indians and British.

“In his second letter he states that men, women and children were indiscriminately massacred. There were only two persons killed at Lewiston, both men. One of them a Dr. Alvord, and the other was a Gillet.

“In relation to the taking of Fort Niagara: It was well known that the fort was to be attacked by the British at least two weeks before it was taken, and all preparations made to defend it, even to mounting guns on the block-houses and magazine, so as to sweep the inside of the fort. Parties were stationed at the Five Mile Meadows, and at the battery then called Fort Gray, at the top of the hill above

Lewiston, to give notice of their [the British] crossing the river by firing three guns. The British crossed the river at the Five Mile Meadows before daylight, and probably prevented the signal being fired at that point, but the signal of the British crossing was given at Fort Gray by firing the number of guns agreed upon. Fort Gray was immediately above Lewiston where Harrison states he was, and he must have been quite deaf if he did not hear them. He states truly that Bennett's militia had dispersed at the time of the burning.

"Captain Leonard, who was in command of Fort Niagara, was a Revolutionary officer who was unfitted for the position he filled. He never was a man of any great ability, in fact I think he was a weak man. I knew him well when I was a boy. After the war he owned and resided at the farm known as the Five Mile Meadows, where the British crossed. At the time that Fort Niagara was taken his family resided at Four Mile Creek, on the lake shore four miles from the fort. At the time that the fort was taken he was visiting his family and there were large numbers of persons who insisted that he was a traitor and had sold the fort to the British. There was never any evidence that such was the case. In fact all those who knew him well scouted the idea, and attributed his absence to his want of thought. My father, who was on the spot, and who was stationed at Fort Gray and gave the signal, always asserted that the loss of the fort [Niagara] was the result of gambling and drinking by the officers. In conversation with Benjamin Barton, late of Lewiston, and who was a quartermaster in the army in 1812, they both agreed that the officers in charge had been gambling and drinking all night and were all asleep when the attack was made, and from the fact that the fort had been prepared and that they knew the attack was to be made there is great probability that this was the case."

In Mr. Harrison's correspondence during the year 1814 there is much that illustrates the confused state of the district. The destruction of the postoffices at Lewiston and Manchester (Niagara), and later at Buffalo, occasioned

him much annoyance. "It is very difficult," he wrote, Jan. 3, 1814, "doing business as the country is in great confusion and I have to pack my papers very frequently in consequence of alarms." He was in doubt what to do with the money he collected for licenses, not daring to send it by mail. On Jan. 18th he wrote to the Hon. Richard Rush that one Robert Lee had arrived at Batavia from Upper Canada, "where he was taken on the enemy's getting possession of Fort Niagara." Lee related to Mr. Harrison all the circumstances of the surrender of the fort, and made affidavit to his narrative, which was written out and sent to Mr. Rush at Washington "as the only paper like a correct account (as far as it goes) that has as yet been penned of the surrender of that important Post. Mr. Lee," Mr. Harrison added, "is a Gent. of intelligence and had as good an opportunity of knowing the true state of things as perhaps any other person in the Fort. When you have read the affidavit perhaps it may not be an unimportant document for the Congressional Committee raised for investigating the conduct of the enemy in regard to his prosecution of the war. The Enemy still hold the Fort and are engaged in strengthening it."*

DeWitt Clinton wrote to him from New York, Jan. 20, 1814, asking for "a correct and detailed account" of the situation. Mr. Harrison replied at some length, but the letter contains no important particulars not to be found elsewhere. "That your heart is wounded by the destruction of our frontier and the slaughter of its inhabitants," he wrote, "is another evidence of those feelings of philanthropy and love of country that your numerous friends have long known were predominant in your breast. If other important events occur on this frontier and I am among the inhabitants of this world I shall not fail of giving you a detailed account of them." The troubles of his office, and politics—he declined a nomination for State Senator about this time—evidently absorbed his thought, for the promised detailed account does

* Mr. Harrison's letter-book does not contain the deposition of Robert Lee; but in the *Buffalo Gazette* of Jan. 25, 1814, may be found a detailed statement on the subject, by Lee, substantially the same, it is probable, as that referred to by Mr. Harrison. It is republished in Ketchum's *History of Buffalo*, Vol. II., appendix, pp. 404-405.

not appear. On April 6th he wrote from Batavia to Mr. Smith that "in consequence of the great difficulty of procuring a house or accommodations at this place, and also of my former residence &c. in the County of Niagara I have commenced building something that I can live in, in Buffalo in the said County of Niagara, where I shall immediately remove. Buffalo is the most central place in the district. A postoffice was formerly kept there, and will be again in the course of a week. Be pleased to address your future commands to me at 'Buffalo, Niagara County, N. Y.'" And thus Jonas Harrison joined the growing band of those who wiped out the traces of war and worked together in the building of a new Buffalo. But the year 1814 was one of many alarms in the struggling village. Under date of "Buffalo, July 16, 1814," Mr. Harrison wrote to the Hon. Ezekiel Bacon:

SIR: About 700 of our troops marched from here last week down on this side of the Niagara River and encamped on the ground where Lewiston formerly stood. Our army under Genl. Brown being encamped at Queenston on the opposite side of the river. Though our scouting parties have frequently been into Lewiston since the 19th of December last (the time when the British drove us away and burnt up the village) we have had no regular possession of the place or a force capable of staying there even one night until the encampment above mentioned. The nearest our troops have been encamped during the winter was at Hardscrabble on the Ridge Road six miles distant from Lewiston, Lewiston being about half way between that and Fort Niagara where the British now are and have since the 19th of December continued to be in possession, scouring the country with their patrolling parties. Our people being now in possession [of] the place and I feeling no disposition or ability to return there shortly, having lost my buildings, property, &c., I beg leave to resign the Office I have held as Collector of the Customs for the District of Niagara. If it should be thought necessary to fill the office by an appointment will you permit me to recommend Rufus Spaulding Esquire as a person every way qualified to. faithfully discharge any

duties that may appertain to the said office. Mr. Spaulding was driven from the country with the rest of us, but has now returned to his farm within about four [miles] from Lewiston.

With every sentiment of respect I have the honor to be,
Sir,

Your most obt. Servt

J. HARRISON.

NOTE. There has been nothing to do in the office since the commencement of the war. All intercourse between the District and Upper Canada having of course been interdicted by the successive military commanders. As to coasting trade, there has been no American vessels on the lake but what was taken into the United States service.

The next entry in the old letter-book is dated Lima, Ontario Co., N. Y., August 26, 1814. "I have removed all the papers, books, &c. belonging to the Government to this place," Mr. Harrison wrote to the Hon. Samuel H. Smith. "The present situation of the District imperiously demanded such a measure. I hope my conduct in this particular may meet your approbation. In the District business of every kind except what relates to the Army is pretty much at an end and the inhabitants moving in every direction. I have removed the papers three times within two weeks and now as you see have got them without the District where I hope they may be safe. I shall leave them and my family here, but return myself immediately to Buffalo, where I beg you will continue to forward your directions to me, for in case that Post Office is broken up the mail for it will be opened at the nearest office to that place that is not broken up."

No notice appears to have been taken of his proffered resignation at the time. By Nov. 1st Mr. Harrison had his family and the papers of his office back in Buffalo. On March 8, 1815, he wrote at length to the Hon. Alexander J. Dallas, who had recently assumed the duties of Secretary of War, in addition to those of Secretary of the Treasury,

rehearsing the facts in regard to the destruction of Lewiston. Stating that the English were still in possession of Fort Niagara, and that "no person has as yet attempted to erect a building at Lewiston the Port of Entry for the District of Niagara nor in fact at any other place on that district which extends from Oak Orchard Creek to Niagara Falls, . . . and as it is probable on the breaking up of winter our people will obtain some vessels and commence a sort of commerce which together with other matters will require a Custom House again to be kept at Lewiston," he again proffered his resignation. Finally, May 31, 1815, in a letter in which he states that "Fort Niagara having the other day been given up to our troops and people beginning to build at Lewiston," he informs Mr. Dallas that he has appointed a deputy collector at Lewiston,—“and you will be pleased to accept my resignation of the said office.”

In relation to his work as Collector of Customs, and subsequently as Collector of Internal Revenue, the correspondence between Mr. Harrison and his superior officers, up to July 20, 1819—the date of the final entries in the book—contains much of value; but after the spring of 1815 it belongs to other phases of Western New York history than that which we seek especially to discover in this connection, namely, of the War of 1812.

A NIAGARA FALLS TOURIST

OF THE YEAR 1817.

BEING THE JOURNAL OF
CAPTAIN RICHARD LANGSLOW
OF THE HONORABLE EAST INDIA SERVICE.*

Left New London, Connecticut, at 8 p. m., Wednesday, Sept. 10, 1817. A shameful detention at night at New Haven as Capt. Bunker of the Connecticut determined to wait till morning for passengers from Commencement. (Yale College.)

Sept. 11. Penned a letter for insertion in the New York Evening Post on the above misconduct. Reached New York at 6 p. m., saw Messrs. Winthrop & McCormick. I went to the play "Bunker Hill" and "Robinson Crusoe." A most wretched performance, the theater good, tolerably filled; Barnes the only tolerable actor, I recollect him and his wife on the Plymouth Boards.

Friday, Sept. 12. At Gibson Hotel where I sleep the thermometer in my close bed-room is 85 degrees. Dined

* The original journal copied by his son, Henry A. Langslow of Rochester, N. Y., in 1896, at the suggestion of Erastus Darrow; read at a meeting of the Rochester Historical Society, April, 1896; copy presented to the Buffalo Historical Society by the Rochester Historical Society, George May Elwood, president. Now first published.

with Mr. McCormick and went in the evening to West's Equestrian Expedition; tolerably entertaining.

Saturday, Sept. 13. Saw yesterday the American Museum and spoke to Mr. Skudder about Capt. Wilson's electric eel. Finding there is no chance of my having Mr. Featherstonehough for a companion in the steam-boat on Tuesday, suddenly resolved to prosecute my route this afternoon and at 5 p. m. repair on board the Richmond steamship from Jas. Winthrop's where I dined. The boat well regulated. Left a line for Capt. Douglass at West Point. Mr. & Mrs. Livingston passengers. At Poughkeepsie the scenery beautiful on each side. In spite of the deprivation of light distinguished the high hills of Neversink, at one time approximating the river close at each side sufficiently to form an idea of the romantic view they present by daylight; slept well and comfortably, but somewhat ailing.

Sunday, Sept. 14. A pleasant change in the weather, a little rain and the air cool and bracing. Mr. Raynaud of Schenectady a passenger, a refugee from St. Domingo in 1794; had suffered much. He is an acquaintance of Mr. Featherstonehaugh's. At half past 4 landed at Albany, called on Mr. Chas. Smith to whom I delivered Mr. Buchanan's (vice consul's) letter. He assisted me with advice and information and saw me off at 6 in a two-horse stage for Schenectady which was reached before 9. Got tea, etc., and went to bed. Albany is pretty, the State Street fine and the views in the neighborhood interesting, the road to Schenectady rough. Left this place before 6 a. m. and crossed a fine bridge to the north side of the Mohawk, in the Albany stage for Utica, more of a wagon than a coach; fare \$6.00. Changed at Amsterdam, 15 miles; a poor place, an excellent mill-stream; town improving; Johnstown or Canawauga, 5 miles. The church was built by Sir Wm. Johnson who with Sir John Johnson is held in detestation by the Americans for ravages committed on this and other towns by the Tories and Canadian Indians between 1772 & 1780. Two miles before we came to Johnstown is Tribe's Hill, from whence is an extensive and very beautiful prospect. The turnpike runs all the way to Utica on the north

side of the river. Reached Canajoharie to dinner between 12 & 1; 15 miles from Johnstown and 49 north-west from Albany. Dined comfortably for half a dollar. Started again at half past one, raining fast, consequently I was prevented seeing as much as I could wish of this interesting scenery, the river in sight most of the way, but very shallow; a few islands. I saw no boats passing. Village of Palastine [Palatine] 6 miles from Canajoharie, a small place. Little Falls 20 miles from Palastine & 74 from Albany, beautiful in the extreme, the falls pretty and the road over and between rocks truly romantic. There are several locks here by which the boats proceed round the falls. All very interesting and well worth seeing. The pleasing and elegant village of Herkimer 7 miles from Little Falls and 78 from Albany, I was delighted with. We changed horses at 6 here but I could not see much of it as the rain continued. Passed over the bridge and reached Utica on the south side of the Mohawk at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 8; a good inn Baggs'. Much fatigued and sore from the violent jolting; as the stages go on at 3 a. m. I deem it prudent to halt till the following morning, my late complaint having returned.

Utica, Sept. 16. Employed writing my journal. Dispatched a long letter to N. London written chiefly on the steamboat on Sunday. Went to a Doctor Wolcott's and got some T. theban; he had no T. cinnamon; took a large dose. My watch inspected by a watchmaker, find the hands were loose, done by the motion of the stage. Went to the Union Bank and got cash for \$20.00 in bills to avoid taking small bills on my route; also got two pieces of gold changed for \$11 $\frac{3}{4}$. Walked round the town which is prettily built, rather extensive, no remains of old Fort Schuyler. Whitesborough, distance 4 miles, and Rome 12 miles; no particular object worth noticing. Three Scots gents from Boston returning from the Falls, very pleasant. Messrs. Wood and Seaman gone on to Geneva, the former left a handkerchief with English letters. I take it on for him. Obtained great information from Mr. Seaman, he lived generally at Washington Hall, N. Y. Find a portion of the mercury in the

thermometer shaken up to 180 degrees, obliged to use boiling water to reunite the lower part to the upper. My telescope also much disordered and a little broken, all by the astonishing violence of the motion of the stage on the rough roads. Inspected the boats used on the Mohawk. They answer Schultz's* description. Determine to take the Buffalo Road. It is nearer by 25 miles than the Ridge Road to Lewiston and Fort Niagara. The Steamboat ceased to run farther than the Genesee River from Sackett's Harbor on the 5th inst, so abandon all thoughts of navigating Lake Ontario as the weather is unpromising and there is no public conveyance to Oswego.

Wednesday, Sept. 17. Called up at 2 and started in the stage at 3 a. m. Near day-break when we reached the village of New Hartford four or five miles from Utica and soon after by violent jolts the leather strap supporting the carriage on one of the fore-springs gave way and nearly upset us. Delayed some time in fixing a long thick spar lengthways under the carriage to support it, and now having lost the little vibration of the spring we are worse off than ever. Clinton College in sight; 2 miles on the left

* *Travels on an Inland Voyage through the States of New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Ohio, Kentucky and Tennessee.* . . . performed in the years 1807 and 1808. . . . by Christian Schultz, Jun. Esq. Two vols., New York, 1810. The best record of travel and observation in America, for the period named. Schultz visited Buffalo, Niagara Falls, etc., in August, 1807, and made full and graphic record of what he saw. In 1809 James Fenimore Cooper was on the Niagara, but we have no detailed narrative of his sojourn. From 1812 to 1815 the war put a stop to tourist travel into the region. In 1815 the procession was continued by Levi Beardsley, whose *Reminiscences*, etc. (New York, 1852), give many valuable glimpses of local conditions in the year named. The next year came David Thomas, whose *Travels through the Western Country in the Summer of 1816* (Auburn, N. Y., 1819), contains some account of the new Buffalo, but not of Niagara Falls. These and the valueless *Travels in North America* of "George Phillips" (Dublin, 1822), bring us to the time of Capt. Langslow's visit. The year 1817 marked the beginning of a new era of tourist travel to the Niagara. Of visitors to the region in that year, who recorded their impressions in books, were E. Montule (*A Voyage to North America, and the West Indies, in 1817*, London, 1821), Joseph Sanson (*Sketches*, etc., New York, 1817), Frederick Tolfrey (*The Sportsman in Canada*, 2 vols., London, 1845), and President James Monroe, whose *Tour*, recorded by S. Putnam Waldo (Hartford, 1818), had brought the distinguished tourist to Buffalo and the Niagara in August, less than a month before Capt. Langslow. Of books describing the region at that time, and for some years to come, Schultz's work was by all odds the best.

and near to it is Paris. Manchester is $8\frac{1}{2}$ miles and Vernon 17 miles from Utica, which we did not reach to breakfast until 9 o'clock owing to our accident. Four or five miles farther enter Oneida Castle, a straggling Indian village, extends two or three miles up a very steep hill, the gents obliged to walk up it, saw several Indians, complexion lighter than I expected, their dress curious; many with English hats, their hair long, black and straight.

Lenox, a long scattered town 12 miles from Vernon. Sullivan two miles distant on the left; immense woody tracts on each hand, down even to the edges of the road; hills in all directions covered with trees. Romantic scenery, road very bad. Passed Canaseraga and soon after reached the village of Chittinango and changed horses; a steep rise of three miles from the town, on the top a fine fresh spring, a few yards from Clark's Inn. We visited it and tasted the pure element; weather warm; a fine view of Oneida Lake from the heights; it appears about 5 miles distant, stretching to the north. Passed through Manlius, formerly Sinai, and Jamesville, two new villages about 5 miles apart, between 4 & 5; at the entrance of the latter on the hill whence you descend to the village is a tasty house and very beautiful garden lately occupied by a Mr. Sanford, an enviable residence. At 6 p. m. to dinner Onondaga Hollow, only 50 miles from Utica. At the entrance of it is a very handsome stone house of Judge Foreman; soon dispatch our meal and walk up the steep out of town; very hilly and woody; the evening closing in, adieu to the prospect; with the darkness came rain. At Marcellus, 10 from Onondaga and 6 from Skeneatles, left some passengers, hence to our lodgings, it poured torrents. I have been unwell all the afternoon, in spite of laudanum; obliged to make up my mind to halt at Skeneatles for the next day; we did not reach it till past 11 o'clock, 4 hours later than customary. Find myself incapacitated for proceeding by the morning's stage.

Thursday, Sept. 18. At Skeneatles. A little relieved by a good night's rest, take laudanum frequently. . . . The Inn (kept by Mr. Sherwood) and is no great thing, is within ten yards of the lake, a pretty view and was I well

should certainly try to take a few trout and pickeral in which the lake abounds. Passed the morning in writing and at noon sent off a letter to N. London which will go across the country from Albany to Hartford and arrive I hope in 4 or 5 days.

Friday, Sept. 19. After a good night's rest and feeling better for the cinnamon and laudanum I got at a Dr. Colvin's yesterday, got into the stage at 5 a. m. and proceeded over a fair road to Auburn, 7 miles; a flourishing town; handsome courthouse and jail underneath it, building; rich soil; much cultivation, fine weather. Proceeded to Cayuga on the lake of that name, 9 miles from Auburn (which is on the Owasco). Breakfasted on bass and perch from the lake and crossed the fine new bridge over the lake, one mile and 8 rods in length, toll for the team 1 dollar and 50 cents. Seneca 3 miles, a handsome town; in a state of improvement; a capital hotel where I saw Mr. Seaman. Delivered to him Mr. Wood's handkerchief containing letters which he had left at Utica. Walked over the bridge on the creek, which with the canal is repairing. Lake distance 10 miles, along the bank of the Seneca River to Waterloo 4 miles, lately built and named in compliment to Wellington; rapidly improving; many buildings proceeding; country fine and soil fertile. At 1 reached Geneva, 7 miles from Waterloo, here I saw Mr. Seaman, not the Seaman above mentioned; two capital churches, Presbyterian and Episcopal, situated on the lake, a most beautiful place.

At 4 p. m. reached Canandaigua on the lake of that name, 16 miles from Geneva and 208 from Albany; a most interesting place. The buildings superior; dined heartily and feel much better. No stage for Buffalo or Lewiston till Monday. A Mr. DeForrest from York, U. Canada, has offered me a conveyance, took an airing in his comfortable carriage and amongst other fine houses passed a Mr. Granger's, the handsomest in the place. I recollected that he was an acquaintance of Mr. Coles and called on my return; he was from home, but Mrs. Granger chatted with me for half an hour. There is here the handsomest collection of houses I have seen in any place of its extent, gen-

erally built distinct in the village style; two churches and a court-house; the Inn good and a handsome building from whence is a view of the lake to the left. As Mr. De Forrest talks of starting early with his daughter in the carriage, retire to bed early.

Saturday, Sept. 20. Wrote a letter to N. London and left it at the post-office as I passed it at 10 o'clock in Mr. De Forrest's carriage. A daughter of the Mr. Mills who keeps the Inn at Canandaigua accompanies us to go to school at York, Canada; so our party consists of four besides the driver, who is to be Mr. De Forrest's clerk. Fine weather and road, but hilly and a delightful country. Passed through E. Bloomfield and soon after reached W. Bloomfield, a beautiful village 13 miles from Canandaigua, where we halted to refresh on peaches. Here Mr. and Mrs. Mills took leave of their daughter and returned to Canandaigua. Moved on to Rowe's Inn, 14 miles from Canandaigua, and dined on Roast-beef. At 5 passed Lima and soon after Avon, where we were ferryed over the Genesee River, pay toll for carriage and all 3 shillings. A bridge is began to be built, the two piers of stone nearly finished 50 yards across. Reached Caledonia at 8, a good Inn and fair bed, the landlord's name Bowen.

Sunday, Sept. 21. Off at daybreak, bad road, did not reach Batavia, 17 miles, till near 11 to breakfast; 265 miles from Albany and 40 from Buffalo, a poor Inn by W. Keyes. The Tonawanda Creek passes by it with a good bridge across which leads to Leicester, 22 miles. At Batavia is build a good Episcopal Church, but at present one edifice suffices for court-house, meeting-house, jail and tavern. Proceeded at noon and reached Pembroke, 11 miles, a decent Inn. Road very bad, mostly log causeway; log houses numerous. Passed through the long and fertile township of Clarence, entered Niagara County about 4 p. m. At 7 drank tea at Major Miller's Inn, 11 Mile Creek, being that distance from Buffalo. The road better, and being fine moonlight got into Buffalo soon after 10; knocked them up at Pomerot's [Pomeroy's] as Landing's [Landon's] Inn was too full to accommodate us all; poor attendance.

Monday, Sept. 22. Unwell. . . . Packets for Erie uncertain; one expected to sail from Fort Erie (Capt. Baird's) in a day or two. Moved toward the river at 10; paid our extravagant bill, two thirds of which was my share, 2 dollars. The beach road so heavy that Mr. De Forrest and I walked the whole way, near 3 miles, much fatigued. I left 10 pieces of clothes at Mr. Landing's [Landon's] Inn to be washed against my return, as I do not mean to go to Pomeroy's. Crossed the Ferry from Black Rock to Erie between 11 & 12. Twelve shillings for the carriage and 2 shillings besides for each person. The rain coming down heavy. Mr. De Forrest pointed out to me all the interesting objects. I feel very unwell indeed; our road close along Niagara River; the falls 16 miles from the Ferry House. Passed Chippaway, saw some soldiers of the 70th and an officer, a company under Capt. Swinney posted at the small fort here. About 5 miles above the falls saw the mist and heard the roar soon after reached the rapids. The rain continues heavy, our view obstructed. About 4 p. m. caught a view of the falls. Too unwell to descend to them, even had the weather been sufficiently favorable. At 5 reached the Falls Inn kept by a Mr. Forsyth. Here Mr. De Forrest determined to stay the night, his horses being knocked up. The weather miserable. I found myself so unwell that had the weather even allowed us, I would not have descended to the falls, so determined to take the stage as it passed for Newark* and inspect the falls on my way back.

At 6 the stage arrived, I got into it; my only companion a most gentlemanly man, proved to be Capt. Reed of the U. S. Navy, well known to Mr. and Mrs. Stewart. This was pleasing particularly as I was so ill, the quantity of laudanum rendered me almost delirious. The rain pouring, coach cover a farce. Reached Fort George between 8 & 9 and went to the Inn kept by Abm. Rogers, got tea etc. very comfortably. Obligated to take more opiate in the night.

Tuesday, Sept. 23. Breakfasted in company with Capt. Reed, who soon after went across to the American Fort. Very unwell from the laudanum, but better in other respects.

* Now Niagara, Ont.

Took my letters to Mr. Wybault (the Company Gen'l) & Col. Evans, the former absent, expected home to-night, the latter with Mrs. Evans very glad to see me. I promised to dine at the Mess if well enough, returned to the Inn and laid down. Dreadful weather. Mr. De Forrest arrived about noon, no steamboat from Kingston in, better after taking a nap. Talked with a Major Davies of the 99th (Fort George, Newark or W. Niagara).

Tuesday, Sept. 23. Dined at the Mess of the 70th Regt., to which Col. Evans took me in a neat wagon and pair. Met a Lieut. Goldfrap, brother to him I formerly knew in the Company's Service & Buffs, he told me his brother had taken orders and got a good living in Norfolk; promised to dine with Lt. G. at the Mess to-morrow; a very pleasant party, Capt. Green (just going to relieve Capt. Swinney at Chippaway), Lts. White, McCoy, Sanson, Dr. Turnden, etc., the latter at Capt. Evans request had called to talk to me and now gave me 10 powders of the Creta compos, cinnamon, etc. Drank very freely of Port only; Claret, etc. were going in profusion. They live well and have a good Mess Room. The Barracks (not men and officers) are infamous; left the Mess with Col. Evans between 10 & 11 and had a dreadful walk to the Inn, where the Col. left me, walked through water up to the knee, the rain poured all the time and nearly a mile to go. The wine preserved me from a cold and I had a better night.

Wednesday, Sept. 24. Weather somewhat clearer, passed the morning at Col. Evans, Mrs. Evans, a very pleasant woman, Scots I suspect; he is from Staffordshire, much conversation on that and adjoining counties. The Col. knew the Phillips' & Leakes near Shifnal, Slaneys, etc.; and many Shrewsbury people. Mrs. Evans knew Mrs. Brown and family intimately and declared that about 2 years ago the all-accomplished Mrs. Brown made a runaway match with a Mr. Finch, a man in all respects inferior to her, and that Mr. Finch has since purchased into the Life or Horse-Guards. Took my leave of the friendly, hospitable couple at 3 o'clock, the weather being fine and visited the works at Massasauga, the opposite point to Fort Niagara, a strong

little star fort with a block tower in the center as a last hold after the American fashion. Better to-day for the Port Wine, intend to repeat it to-night. In my way to the Mess visited Fort George about a mile higher up than Massasauga and commanded from the American side; it has been curtailed one half. Gen'l. Brock lies under the flagg-staff in the highest Bastion, and I walked over the grave of this gallant soldier. Found on reaching the Mess, that Col. Grant the Company Officer has returned from his excursion from Grand River, he soon after joined the party with Capt. Heixley (formerly of the 87th), Capt. Tredenniek, etc. The Col. paid me great attention and pressed me very hard to dine to-morrow but I have resolved not to loose the opportunity of the stage. Heard much of poor Blake who had visited the port, Quebec, etc., and in all places conspicuous and ridiculous by his red mustach and scarlet dress, but I understood he had been treated every where with great hospitality. The Col. had seen him at Kingston. We had much conversation regards many Bengal officers the Col. knew, He has a brother on the Madras establishment. Left the Mess between 9 & 10 and called on Mr. Wybault on my way home, a very gentlemanly young man, regretted much his being absent, pressed me hard to stay, etc. . . .

Thursday, Sept. 25. Rose early after a bad night and packed up. Breakfasted for the last time with Mr. De Forrest's family. They were just starting for York in a Sloop hired for the Trip. Mr. Wybault called on me and brought a letter for Mr. Asst. D. Com. Gen'l Stanton at Fort Erie, who he said might prove useful to me. At 9 crossed the Ferry to Fort Niagara. Capt. Reed was there, he introduced me to his relation Mr. Smith (the engineer officer superintending the improvements of the fort), and to Col. Pinckney, the Comt of the Garrison. Took a hasty view of the works and some of the soldiers who were paraded. Hastened back as I knew the stage was waiting, just in time for it. Ferry between half a mile and $\frac{3}{4}$ broad, took half an hour to cross and return, exclusive of the time I staid. The works at Fort Niagara going on slowly, we were long in passing of them and only delivered them up on the Peace.

Started on the stage at 10 a. m. with 3 rough companions, one a Scotchman from Jamaica, seeking an establishment in the sugar boiling line. Going to Pittsburgh (my route), and eventually to New Orleans. Passed through Queenstown, a poor town in a hollow 7 miles from Ft. George. Lewiston, a pretty looking place on the opposite side of the Niagara River; ascended the heights and passed over the battle ground about a mile from the town, the remains of several small works and redoubts. A tall pole like a flag-staff erected on the spot where Gen'l Brock fell; about 300 yards from the road on the right hand, a little farther on is a block house and out work, 400 yds. on the right of the road and apparently newly erected.

At half past 12 reached Forsyth's Inn, 5 miles from Queenstown and 4 from Chippaway; got a boy at Forsyth's to accompany me to the falls. Surveyed them first from Table Rock and descended about 30 or 40 ft. with some apprehension. The road onward toward the falls so bad, steep and wet that I could not get within 500 yards of them by this route, so after surveying them from a distance re-ascended the ladder and returned to the stage, having been absent nearly two hours. How much astonished and gratified it would be needless for me to attempt to describe, but certainly the most wonderful and astonishing sight I ever beheld. For a description see Schultz and many other travelers, it is far beyond my powers. Half way between Forsyth's and Chippaway the hinder axle tree of the stage broke in two by a severe jolt. I committed my Portmanteau to a person passing in a wagon and set out on foot to make the best of my way to the Barrack at Chippaway where I was certain of finding certain of my own cloth to assist me, Capt. Sweeney and Lieut. Brown of the 70th. About a mile from that place is what they call the burning spring. I descended to examine it close to the edge of the Niagara River. It is situated under the ruins of Clark's mills near Bridgewater, which was burnt down by the "enemy" during the war. The spring is covered over and from the water is a leaden pipe brought up into the building with a common brass cock attached. The woman turned the cock for the gas to escape

and placing a lighted candle at the mouth it immediately took flame and emitted a fine light like a Torch or Carbonic Gas. This was used while the Mills existed to light the works below. I tasted the water and it was strongly impregnated with sulphur. The stage here overtook us, the driver having by some mode got it to go and we soon reached Chippaway and I recalled my Portmanteau and proceeded. Did not stop at the Barracks but observed the works thrown up for the protection of the bridge, now distinguished from another higher up, by a term, King's Bridge. There are 2 redoubts that cover and protect the passage of it, under flows the dark river of Chippaway, which does not mix with the clear stream of Niagara but passes $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the falls and is precipitated over unchanged and unmixed. You observe the difference in color in the falling torrents with astonishment.

Four miles further on our spliced axle again gave way and I took a seat in a wagon that was passing and was kindly offered me. Traveled on 4 or 5 miles to Palmer's Inn, 6 miles from the Ferry, where the stage driver hired an open wagon and after an hour's wet and cold rode through a constant shower of rain and reached the Ferry about 7 o'clock and with great difficulty I got housed in a Mr. Hardson's Inn, a little beyond the ferry house, but a much superior one. Slept in a room for the first time with 3 other people. While they are preparing breakfast I write this on Friday the 26th. . . .

Resolved to continue to Fort Erie 2 miles to consult with Mr. Stanton. Capt. Baird's vessel still here and many others for Erie, all weather bound, and no appearance of a change at present. A hurricane from w. ward with much rain through the night, very cold and unpleasant. At 10 walked over to Fort Erie, my Scotch friend accompanying me to take his passage, road tolerable, distance 2 miles. Found Mr. Stanton, delivered my letter, which made him extremely attentive, inspected the rooms at the small Inn and passed on to the extreme point of the works thrown up by the Americans under Gen'l Brown while in possession. They terminated at Snake Hill by a redoubt with a small 3 Gun

breast work, 100 yards advanced which cut up De Watville's [De Watteville's] Corps dreadfully in the unsuccessful assault ordered by Gen'l Drummond. This sandy rise on the beach point well merits its name for we disturbed two snakes while walking over it, from whence you trace the Americans and French all along on your left (the Sea on your right), as far as the old fort near a mile distant. Called at Mr. Stanton's on my way back and he showed me a plan of the works and Batteries, etc., as drawn by Capt. Owen, R. N., lately surveying the coast. We then inspected the old fort now in ruins except a small shed lately repaired to quarter the Sarg'nts party in. Observed the large cavity caused by the accidental explosion of the magazine under a Bastion, during our attack which for a moment equally disconcerted both parties but in the end enabled the enemy to repel us. Capt. [Col.] Drummond fell after surmounting this Bastion and turning the corner of the left stone Barracks now in ruins. This place would have been strong if completed, but orders from home 10 or 12 years ago had stopped its further progress. Two of the Bastions and the works adjoining were left unfinished and were so at the commencement of the war. Major Burke had, however, taken some pains to put it in good state of defence; but he was strangely induced to yield it on the first summons, though in a few days Gen'l Brock would have succeeded him. After thoroughly inspecting the remains and Mr. Stanton pointing out the different objects worthy of observation corresponding with Capt. O's plan, we passed through the ravine down where the enemy made a Sortie and drove us from Batteries 1 & 2 when after our unsuccessful assault we attempted regularly to invest the place. There is a stile [? still] a 24-pounder lying in our nearest Battery No. 3 (880 yds.) as destroyed by the enemy, but now of course unserviceable. Observed a few coins and fragments here and there, it appears the affairs here took place only two years ago, about Sept. or Oct. 1815 [1814]. We lost 800 men in the unsuccessful assault and it is said almost as many more by the subsequent sortie when we were driven from our works and Batteries. The enemy's loss per diem within

their works on the flank and rear of the Fort was as the Gen'l told Mr. Stanton, 15. Battery No. 1 is on the water side close to the high road 1180 yards from the fort. The trees about are much cut and mangled and many of marks of balls from the "enemy" inflicting battery on the Buffalo side, are still visible. My acquaintance Capt. Douglass of the U. S. Engineers superintended the construction of the works, particularly that on Snake Hill, which I am told did him great credit. He was also very active in the Sortie which proved so fatal to us.

In the road met Lieut. Willson of the Royal Engineers and Mr. Blackburn an asst. deputy in the store-keepers (a new) department, and another Gent, a clerk in the same. Mr. Stanton introduced me. I found they were fellow lodgers at Hardison's and were waiting for a wind to proceed up the lake to their post at Amherstburgh, nearly 300 miles. Mr. Stanton walked with us to the Ferry and procured from Mr. Warren (a magistrate here) two of the old Indian stone arrow-heads which have been dug up in this vicinity. He gave me one and Lt. Willson the other. They are considered great curiosities from their antiquity and curious construction. Wrote a long letter to New London and a note to the post master at Buffalo with directions respecting any letters that may arrive for me—also a note to Mr. Landon of the hotel for the clothes I left to be washed. Sawnie volunteered to go on my errand to Buffalo (2 miles) and bring my clothes, etc., if I would pay the Ferryage, to this I gladly assented and gave him a dollar with my letter and notes. Dined at 5 with Lt. Willson and his party upstairs very comfortably. They have a suit of apartments to themselves, each a room, as I cannot have one I shall go tomorrow to Mrs. Maxwell's at F. Erie and wait until Monday when should the wind not become fair I determine to cross back to Buffalo, and take the Tuesday's stage homewards.

Saturday, Sept. 27. All the better for the Doctor's powders which begin, alas, to get short. Breakfast between 9 & 10 with Lt. Willson's party upstairs. They have been now 11 days waiting for a fair wind and are almost out of

patience. Mr. Blackburn of the Storekeepers Generals (Trotter) Department, a very gentlemanly young man. His pay and rank as an Asst. Depty. is as a Capt. but he has many more advantages; the Clerk's as Lieut. The uniform, blue (staff made) with blue velvet facings and white department buttons. At noon proceeded in company with these gents to Fort Erie and there took possession of a nice single room at Mrs. Maxwell's Inn, to whom Mr. Stanton recommended me. On the road from F. George the stage driver overtook me and begged to have the two Dollars and 11 instead of the 3 Drs. he had so fraudulently demanded, so I paid him. Lieut. Willson & self dined together at Mrs. Maxwell's together with his daughter, the bride and Lieut. Jackson of the Royal Navy, married two days preceding. A fidler chanced to be in the house, and a dance was kicked up in which I participated in Iron-heeled boots, danced with Mrs. Jackson and an unmarried sister of hers, we had about 7 couple & a lively though vulgar and old-fashioned dance, the company retired at 11 and I went to bed, better than usual.

Sunday, Sept. 28. Rose early and in unpacking my Portmanteau was petrified in not being able to discover my India square shawl and the pocket-thermometer which was wrapped in it, recollect having it in my hand the morning I packed up to depart from A. Rogers at Fort George, since then I have not unpacked merely having taken my writing utensils once or twice from the top of the portmanteau, felt confident I must have left them at F. George when packing, at 11 procured a horse and determined to retrace my steps and endeavor to recover the articles. Owing to the delay in catching the mare did not get off till near one. Passed the falls about 4 the Rainbows over them more beautiful than I had before seen which I suppose portended rain and the Rapids from Chippaway more violent and curling with increased foam. A captain of a vessel who I gave a lift to in the wagon brought in a bundle and not perceiving that a broad plank in the bottom [was out], on his alighting found his bundle had disappeared below, and he was obliged to go back for it 2 or 3 miles. His misfortune reminded me of my

own and I pushed on as fast as the little mare could go till she was nearly knocked up at Queenstown. I there gave her a gallon of oats, I took a glass of hot Brandy and water and bread and cheese being the first refreshment I had taken from break-fast to $\frac{1}{2}$ past 6 p. m. The last hour stormy and bitter cold, nearly dark when I left Queenstown at 7. Drove cautiously, but got some fearful jolts; heavy showers at times, my coat wet through. At $\frac{1}{2}$ past 8 had the satisfaction to drive into A. Roger's Inn yard without having met a single human being, mounted or on foot, between Kingstown [Queenston] and Niagara. But thank my lucky stars I was rewarded for my toil, the landlord had my shawl and thermometer safe in keeping and they were restored to me uninjured. Made a hearty supper in high glee, on cold beef and tea. I retired to my former pretty comfortable quarters early, having seen the poor mare well taken care of.

Monday, Sept. 29. Dressed early and went out to call on Mr. Wybault, breakfasted with him, and Mr. Campbell, a sick friend of his, late of the Commissary. Col. Grant joined us and pressed me much to stay as I could not dine with him to-day, being engaged to Mr. Wybault. The wind being still contrary for Erie and the mare being fagged and galled induced me to halt. Called on Mr. Farnden the Asst. Surgeon and thanked him for the powders which has been of such great use to me and got a dozen more, declined any fee; married to a niece of McGillivray of the N. W. Co. I saw him and the Surgeon's wife (Garrett) at Col. Grant's. Eat plenty of his fine peaches. Inspected his stores, garden, etc. Called on Col. Evans, sorry to find Mrs. Evans confined to her room, found the Col. at the Mess and I learned Mrs. Evans had been ill from spasms in the stomach, now somewhat better. Renewed my acquaintance with all the officers who were of course surprised to see me back, much pressing to stay, but determine to proceed early to-morrow.

Saw Capt. Navasour of the Engineers. Col. Evans introduced him and astonished me with the information that the lady who lives with him is no other than the wife of Mr. Ruddell and daughter of Sir J. Dunbar of Liverpool. Mr. Ruddell recovered 500 [? £ or \$] damages instead of 5000.

Navasour has promised to marry her as soon as the divorce is obtained. Col. Evans corrected much of Mr. Stanton's information relative to the attack and affairs at Erie. Major Buck (not Burke) of the 8th Foot commanded and surrendered, but Col. Evans says he is not to be blamed. (Observe that they served in the same regiment.) A pleasant dinner at Mr. Wybault's, drank plenty of good port wine, met Town Maj. Kemble, he had a brother on the Madras Establishment, Native Cavalry, is well informed on India Matters. Retired at Rogers' at 10.

Sept. 30. Started at 7 o'clock, plagued with the harness, got some string at Mr. Scott's, pay-master of the 70th, who lives 3 miles from Ft. George. Said to be the author of *Guy Mannering*, *Waverly*, etc. Disappointed in not seeing him. These novels are supposed to be sketched by Mr. and Mrs. Scott but finished for the press by their brother Walter, such the opinion of the officers of the 70th. Turned out of the road 3 miles beyond Queenstown to visit the whirl-pool a mile and a half from the high road; road indescribably bad, stuck fast, sad work; at length repaid for my trouble, wonderful sight. Did not reach Forsyth's (the half way house) to breakfast till 11 o'clock, ran down and took a last look at the falls, plucked wild flowers that grew contiguous and brought them away as also a specimen of the rock. Washed my hands and face in the falling torrent, got back to breakfast and met Major Davis, 99th, who was after lands. Forsyth's people omitted to give the mare water, and finding on my way forward she was thirsty ran into a house to get a pail, she bolted over the bank to quench her thirst, wagon miraculously escaped, I got wet in darting after her.

Reached the ferry at half past 4. Heard the vessels had sailed in the morning! Went on to Fort Erie, and left Col. Grant's letter at Mr. Stanton's, also his umbrella. Mr. Stanton out, did not see him, report confirms all vessels sailed. Settled and thanked Mrs. Maxwell, went back in the wagon to the ferry, did not get across until dark, great difficulty in getting my Portmanteau taken to Landon's. At length a man on horseback for half a dollar agreed to take it before him, I carrying the coat, etc. A terrible trip. Frequently

up to my knees in mud, pitch dark, horrid road, reached Landon's at 8 wet through with perspiration. Met Mr. D. A. Ogden from Ogdensburgh, cousin of Mrs. Evans, on his way there. Left Mr. Abraham O. behind him. No vessel certain for Erie, the wind not fair, determined to start for Albany in the morning, jaded, worn out and sick of my travels. I had 3 squirrels (black) caught close to the falls, their skins with me. Mr. Ogden talks of going from Fort George to Erie and Pittsburgh, but not certain, I could not bear longer delay.

Wednesday, Oct. 1. Up at 5, after a good night's rest, wind fair for Erie, but hear of no vessel bound there, only one for Detroit, direct, the Erie. Therefore no longer hesitate to take my place in the stage. Start at 6, a sharp frost, the first this season, bitter cold, glad I have not to drop down the Allegheny, otherwise much disappointed that I should have lost my passage, but I recovered my shawl & thermometer, which of the two perhaps was best. The mist or foam of the falls visible all the way to Williamsville, 12 miles from Buffalo, and a mile beyond, Major Miller's Inn at 11 Mile Creek, where we had stopped before; breakfasted at Hutchinson's Inn, comfortably, the condensed mist visible a few miles farther owing to the frost, about 50 miles from the falls. Rainbows yesterday strikingly beautiful; I only went to Table Rock, not to the ladder. Reached Batavia, Mr. Myer's Inn (where we had stayed before) at 4 o'clock and got dinner, paid 1½ dollars. Two fellow passengers, pleasant men of this neighborhood, a flute player, knew Mr. O'Brien (the Tailor) of N. London who he said was a very clever man and had seen better days; started at daybreak, Thursday, Oct. 2, and breakfasted very comfortably and cleanly at Ripley's Inn, Le Roy village, 13 miles. They say Ripley took Reall prisoner. Reached Canandaigua at 5 p. m. (Mills') having dined on raw beef at Rowe's Inn, Bloomfield. Met an English & Irish Gentlemen on their way to the falls. They had only been a fortnight in this country and gave me much information as to the fashions, etc., at home; a famous Presbyterian Preacher, I was too tired to go and hear him. I told Mr. and Mrs. Mills all I

knew regarding their daughter with Mr. De Forrest, they gave me a wretched bed in return; off at day-break on Friday.

Oct. 3. Breakfasted at Hotel Geneva, 16 miles. Reached Sherwood's (Skeneateles) to dinner, beef as usual which appeared to be the constant diet of the western counties, reached Onondaga Hollow (Webb's) at 9 p. m. too tired to take supper. Went immediately to bed, in the same room with Mr. Brisbane, who had accompanied us from Batavia. At Waterloo this morning joined by Mr. Tabor of New York who immediately recognized me, he had been at the Falls. I found him a pleasant companion, and also Mr. Underhill, junior of Canandaigua.

Saturday, Oct. 4. Discovered when too late that I had left the key of my Portmanteau at Keyes', Batavia, I told his wife who went with us to Cayuga of the circumstance. Reached Utica at 8 p. m. I went to the York House kept by Bamman, got an excellent supper and bed, had a long chat with Mrs. Bamman, she was born at Bath, and had a brother of that name (Thomas) living near Clifton Springs, a leather cutter. I promised to call and tell him I had seen his sister, etc.

Sunday, Oct. 5. Started at 3 a. m. and breakfasted tolerably at Herkimer, a pretty village, 15 miles, having passed Little Falls, half way; discovered the loss of my tooth pick case. Wrote back to Mr. Bamman on the subject, from Conynis Inn, 2 miles east of Johnstown (where we dined) to request if found it might be sent to Mr. McCormick's N. Y. who was well known to Mr. Bamman. Arrived at Mr. Baird's Tavern (Eagle) Albany, at 11 p. m. I went to bed immediately much tired, a poor bed.

Monday, Oct. 6. From a new arrangement in the Boston stage find I shall be two days in reaching Hartford. Walked round the town and saw the old residence of Aunt Schuyler of Pearl Street with many other old Dutch houses; called on Mr. Smith who got me silver change. At 11 a. m. the stage called for me and we crossed the ferry to Greenbush in a boat worked by 8 horses, not by steam, the stage went over and I had no occasion to get out. One mile ascent. The

Barracks in a pretty situation, four (eight) pairs of long houses besides detached buildings. From the hill a beautiful prospect of Albany and the vicinity. Road excellent, capital horses and civil driver. Schodeck $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the ferry, a long straggling place, road hilly but good. Entered Nassau township ($4\frac{1}{2}$ miles further) the road to Pittsfield, Northampton, etc., branching off to the left. Reached the township of Chatham at 1 p. m. 15 miles [? minutes] to dine. Declined it and proceeded. The country pleasing though hilly, road still excellent, well cultivated though soil not rich. My only fellow passenger a lady (elderly) from Providence, stage moved rapidly, at mile stone 28 from Albany passed the boundary of N. York and entered the state of Massachusetts at 3 p. m., soon after the Hoosatonac River which unites with the Naugatuck at Derby. At 7 reached Major Ensign's Inn at Sheffield, 45 miles from Albany and got supper. (Omitted Stockbridge, 13 miles from Sheffield.)

Oct. 7. Off at daybreak, took a hasty breakfast at Norfolk, having passed Canaan 7 miles and here entered the state of Connecticut, passed Winsted Iron Works, Farmington, etc., to Hartford, 28 miles. Dreadful weather, quite a hurricane with violent showers of rain. Got into Ripley's Inn to which Major Stevens (a fellow passenger from Norfolk) recommended me. I made every inquiry as to an immediate conveyance to New London. One man offered to take me the 42 miles for the moderate sum of 15 dollars, so I relinquished the thought and at 4 sat down to a tolerable dinner, for so I esteemed tough fresh killed chickens after my late course of beef steaks. Rain & wind continued most of the evening and I returned [? retired] to bed early.

Wednesday, Oct. 8. Breakfasted at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 7 with the house party and had the luck again to get a part of a grilled fowl otherwise I must have put up with my old fare, beef. As the stage for N. London does not start till 9, it being a delightful morning I strolled round the town accompanied by a gentlemanly man belonging to New York whose name I understood to be Bootam, of French extraction, I presume. We had traveled a short distance together. He was returning from Schenectady College in which he had placed a

son. Mr. B. gained me admittance into the asylum for the deaf and dumb, and I was highly gratified, great credit is due to Mr. Gallaudet for the wonderful progress of his pupils, an excellent institution, but as yet ill supported as no one can be placed there at a less expense than 200 dollars per annum, only 29 pupils as few can afford this allowance. A good episcopal, 2 congregational, 1 methodist, and 1 baptist places of worship, many good houses, a fine arched bridge over the Connecticut River, and below which lay 8 or 10 moderate sized vessels, chiefly sloops and schooners; trade dull and very little stir or bustle in the town, a good market house but apparently ill supported, nothing but very poor looking beef could we see there.

Entered the stage at 9 o'clock. I arrived in lucky time as it only runs at present twice a week to New London, viz—Wednesdays & Saturdays. A Mr. Heathcot of Boston, an Englishman and a negress for Colchester, my companions. Mr. H. a pleasant well informed man. Passed through E. Hartford, 4 miles, Glasonbury, etc., to Colchester which is a pretty, small town, 22 miles from Hartford. Dined heartily at 2 o'clock on partridges and bacon and about 3 proceeded on our route. Road hitherto very bad, sandy and hilly, one very long and steep ascent 8 miles from Hartford, from the summit of which you have an excellent prospect including a faint view of the town. On this side Colchester, road somewhat better, not so hilly, country by no means fertile, very rocky and sterile in many places; several halts, having from Colchester only one pair of horses in our small stage, which simply carried Mr. H. and myself. He drank rather freely of Brandy and water, as it grew colder he increased his quantity so that when we reached Montville (12 miles from Colchester & 7 from N. London) he was tolerably well on. A woman and child from New London joined us here to return home. Mr. H. rather troublesome and I was obliged to repress his assiduities. Happy to see the heights of New London between 7 & 8, had the stage driven round past Mr. Cole's to Mr. Stewart's gate. I was much gratified to find all as well as I could wish; . . . Mr. Stewart not home, expected to-

ward the end of the month. Mr. Stewart arrived in the Tiger from Liverpool at 10 p. m. the 14th of October, all well, and I again departed on my Washington excursion, in the steamboat on Monday morning, the 20th of Oct. 1817.

AMOUNT OF EXPENCE ON MY JOURNEY, SEPT. 10, 1817.

Sept.	10.	Fare per Steamboat from N. London to N. York \$8, petty charges, portage etc. \$1	\$ 9.00
"	12.	Board at Gibson's Hotel and Servants	3.50
		Theater \$1, West's \$1; 2 ult. Phials \$2	4.00
		Soda Water etc. 25c, 3 doz. Porter (Mrs. S) \$9 ..	9.25
"	13.	Fare to Albany \$8, hair cutting (N. Y.) 25c	8.25
		" " Schenectady 16 miles \$1.50, expences there \$1.50	3.00
"	14.	Fare (stage) to Utica (84 miles) \$6, 15th—dinner Canojohara, 50c	6.50
"	16.	Halt. medicine 50c .....	.50
"	17.	Fare (stage) to Skeneatles \$4.75, bill Utica \$2.75 Breakfast (Vernon) 50c; dinner (Onondaga Hollow) 50c	7.50
"	18.	Bill at Skeneatlas (a halt) \$2, fare to Canandaigua \$3.50	5.50
		Tinct. Cinnamon & Thebaie 25c .....	.25
"	19.	Canandaigua, breakfast at Cayuga .....	.50
"	20.	Bill here \$1.50, paid share of dinner at Rowe's Inn (W. Bloomfield) \$1.00	2.50
		Share of night's bill at Bowen's, Caledonia	2.00
"	21.	Breakfast (Batavia) \$1, tea, etc. Major Miller's Inn (11 mile creek) \$1	2.00
"	22.	(Buffalo) share of night's bill at Pomeroy's	2.00
		My ferryage across to Canada 25c, peaches, etc. 25c .....	.50
		Fare in stage from Forsyth's at the Falls Inn to Newark	1.25
		Medicine yesterday .....	.25
"	23.	(Newark, F. George or W. Niagara) bill & Servants	3.50
"	25.	Ferry fare to F. Niagara & back .....	.25
		Fare in stage back to Buffalo, ferry-house	2.25
		My conductor at the falls 25c (omitted) .....	.25
"	28.	Bill to Mr. Hardyson (Ferry House)	3.00
"	30.	" Rogers (2nd trip to F. George) & Servants ..	2.50
		Forsyth, breakfast etc 75c, trunk to F. Erie (omitted) 25c	1.00
		Mrs. Maxwell's Bill F. Erie, including wagon	2.50
		Horse here to F. George \$4, ferry back 25c	4.25
		Carriage, trunk from Ferry to Landon's 50c, bill Lnds. 75c	1.25
Oct.	1.	Fare (Landon's) half way to Batavia \$1.50, servants 25c	1.75
		Returning, breakfast, Hutchinson's, Williamsville ..	.50

Oct.	2.	Balance fare \$1.50 Mr. Keyes bill (Batavia) \$1.00.	\$ 2.50
		Fare to Canandaigua \$3.50, Mr. Mills bill \$1.50 . . .	5.00
		Breakfast at Mr. Ripley's, Le Roy village . . . . .	.50
"	3.	Fare to Onondaga Hollow \$4.50, breakfast Geneva 50c	5.00
"	4.	Fare to Utica \$4.25, breakfast Chittenango 50c	4.75
		Dinner Skeneatles (omitted) 50c, bill Mr. Bamman (Utica) \$1	1.50
"	5.	Fare to Albany \$7, breakfast Herkimer 50c	7.50
		Dinner (Conyne's Inn) 2 miles E. Johnstown 50c . . . .	.50
"	6.	Mr. Baird's Bill (Albany) \$1, fare to Hartford \$6.50	7.50
		Major Ensign's bill for the night (Sheffield) 75c. . .	.75
"	7.	Breakfast (Norfolk) 50c . . . . .	.50
"	8.	Bill Ripley's Hartford \$1.50, fare to N. London \$3.50	5.00
		Dinner etc. Colchester 75c, grog, etc. in the even- ing 50c	1.25
One month's (4 weeks traveling expences)			<u>\$134.50</u>

HISTORICAL WRITINGS OF JUDGE SAMUEL WILKESON.

PREFACED WITH A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH BY HIS
SON, THE LATE SAMUEL WILKESON, JR.*

On that panel of the square of granite covering the grave of Samuel Wilkeson, which faces the harbor of Buffalo, is chiselled the epitaph "URBEM CONDIDIT."

He built the city of Buffalo by building its harbor.

The Erie Canal was under construction—a water channel to connect Lake Erie with the Atlantic ocean and make New York the market of the lake basin and the upper Mississippi valley. The point at which the canal should receive the waters of the lakes was of triple consequence—to commerce, to rival terminal interests and to State politics. The govern-

* In 1842 and 1843, Judge Samuel Wilkeson wrote for the *American Pioneer* of Cincinnati, a series of articles, giving his recollections of pioneer experiences in Western Pennsylvania, New York, and Ohio; of the Whiskey Insurrection, of the events and motives of which movement he had intimate personal knowledge; of early lake and river traffic; and especially of the building of Buffalo harbor, of which work he was the chief promoter. The *American Pioneer*, never widely circulated, was a short-lived periodical, and is now rarely to be found. Judge Wilkeson was so conspicuous a figure in the early history of Buffalo, his work was so potential for the city's commercial development, that it is a duty to record as fully as possible what he did for the public welfare. No better record of that work can be found than in his own graphic narrative, written 60 years ago. Many biographical sketches and tributes to his memory have been printed, one of the most worthy being that by the Rev. Dr. John C. Lord, printed in Vol. IV. of the Buffalo Historical Society *Publications*. No published biography of him, however, so well presents the real man, as the sketch prepared by his son, the late Samuel Wilkeson, Jr., and presented by him to the Buffalo Historical Society in 1885. That sketch, printed herewith, forms the most fitting introduction to the historical writings of his father, "The Harbor-Maker of Buffalo."

ment of the State wanted the best connection; the people of Black Rock wanted the canal to enter the Niagara River somewhat below the head of that deep, but rapid, revolving current. Buffalo claimed that the only possibility of a large and good harbor at the foot of the lakes was in Buffalo Creek. Outside of these contestants, two active and one passive, reposed the Holland Land Company, indifferent through territorial exclusion from the water front by the State's reservation of the mile-wide strip of land on the Niagara River, and on the lake shore to Genesee Street. Yet those foreign speculators in American land nursed in imagination a New Amsterdam where Black Rock now is, and would probably have built it there had they owned the ground. As it was, they kept their hands away from every effort to make Buffalo the terminus of the canal, arguing that wherever the canal terminated, at Black Rock or Buffalo, one of their town plats behind either terminus would surely enrich them. The building of the harbor saved the Holland Land Company's Buffalo town plat for its proprietors and gave speedy sale to all their lands in the county of Erie. The Company never gave a dollar to the perilous enterprise.

The writer is one of the few men living who looked on the work of making this inland seaport. As if it were only yesterday he can remember being perched on his father's shoulders as he waded across the mouth of Buffalo Creek in superintendence of the crib-laying, and being startled by the bugle-tone power of the magnetic voice which gave commands to his men as he walked. It was a ford only waist-deep to the tall man. Ships holding one hundred thousand bushels of grain move under great sail* where he carelessly

* The reader will bear in mind, of this and some other statements in this paper, that they were made in 1885. Even then, sails had practically disappeared from lake vessels, save for steadying purposes on steam-propelled craft, and to assist the steersman on vessels in a tow. The lake marine has lost much of its picturesqueness; steamers and their tows are now mere aquatic freight trains; and such has been the increase in size and carrying capacity of modern lake vessels that even the hundred thousand bushels that Mr. Wilkeson cited for the maximum of achievement, has now become too commonplace to excite comment. The evolution of the freight carriers of the lakes is still in progress; but to emphasize the contrast which Mr. Wilkeson sought to make, it may be re-

carried a child. And, as it were yesterday's sight, the writer recalls the large timber trees which fringed the lake north and south of the creek, and the great elms, sycamores, black-walnuts, basswoods and oaks, which threw shadows over the silent water-way, and east of Main Street became a forest on both its banks—a forest and swamp dense with trees and all vegetable growth, extending from the bend of Niagara River, around by what is now the Terrace and Exchange Street, then the edge of a bluff which was once the wall of the lake: a swamp through which, south of the Mansion House, Main Street had been cut and corduroyed with immense logs, painful to travel; a swamp which, west of the Terrace, and north and south of Court Street, was terrible to the writer, then a little child, as a black fastness alive with serpents, turtles and frogs, to disappear in which the family's cow was wickedly prone, and where oft she hid herself to enjoy the small tragedy of the child's tearful wandering in search of her on the edge of the cat-tail-fringed ooze which he dared not enter.

The man who turned the severe work on the harbor into a joyous battle by wading the creek and laboring among his men in the water up to his waist, doubling their effectiveness with electric words and a judgment unerring and quick as lightning—that man changed the swamps into a populous and beautiful city. He built the harbor of Buffalo—"URBEM CONDIDIT." The harbor made the Buffalo Creek the western terminus of the Erie Canal. That made Buffalo the outlet of commerce of the vast region commercially dependent on the great lakes.

Samuel Wilkeson was of Scotch Covenantor stock and of Scotch-Irish descent. Men of the name died fighting for

corded here that the steamer J. W. Gates has entered Buffalo harbor with a cargo of 258,152 bushels of wheat (in 1900); the S. J. Murphy has brought in at one time 269,000 bushels of corn; at another time, 302,200 bushels of barley; and the H. S. Holden has steamed in over that ford, once "only waist-deep to the tall man," laden with 362,000 bushels of oats. A type of the steel steamer of the lakes, A. D. 1902, is the J. J. Hill, 478 feet long, 52 feet beam, 30 feet depth, and a gross tonnage of 6025. Harbor evolution has struggled to keep pace with steamer evolution. Changes come so fast and along lines often so utterly unforeseen, that it is as idle as it is inviting to speculate on the future of the lake carrying trade.

religious freedom at Bothwell Bridge in 1679. The final defeat of the Covenanters exiled the family to the north of Ireland. They took with them their love of battle and devotion to Protestant liberty. Six Wilkesons were killed in the siege of Derry. The soldier survivors received their distributive portions of land in the Pale. Within less than a century the increase of the family exceeded the supporting power of its land. Emigration was the relief. John Wilkeson and his wife, Mary Robinson, came to America in 1760 and settled in Delaware. The shadow of the war of the Revolution was creeping over the land, and this couple welcomed the coming struggle with the British monarchy. The war broke out. John Wilkeson hastened into the army with a lieutenant's commission and fought till peace was declared. What was left of his regiment was camped at Carlisle, Pa., where the subject of this sketch, literally a military product, was born in 1781. When the army was disbanded, John Wilkeson went with his family to Washington County, in Western Pennsylvania, and, under a soldier's warrant, chopped a farm out of the wilderness. His son in his very childhood was held face to face with the battle of life on the American timbered frontier, and had his character formed and tempered in that severest but manliest of schools. His education commenced in the nearest log school-house and ended in just two weeks. Labor on his father's farm in the wilderness until he was 21 years old must have been performed in a heavy conflict with his sense of power, his ambitious aspirations and his marvelous imagination.

Soon after his father's death he married and went to Southeastern Ohio, and opened another farm for himself in another wilderness. As he was logging and burning one night at eleven o'clock, a sense of the slowness and distance of reward for his terrible toil stopped his work. Before he resumed it, he had planned a change of employment, and was a builder of keel-boats, and a merchant and a transporter, who loaded with glass, nails, bar iron and other commodities in Pittsburg, and carried them by the Allegheny and Connewango Rivers, Chautauqua Lake, Lake Erie and the Niagara River to Black Rock and Buffalo, and loaded

back with Onondaga salt brought up Lake Ontario. With him to determine was to do. Soon he was master of vessels. The first of them he built with his own hands from timber trees growing on the river bank, with no other tools than an ax, a wedge, a saw, an auger and a hammer. Not an iron spike nor a nail was used in their construction. He varied his traffic by the inland route with voyages to points up Lake Erie. The beginning of the superb commerce of the 3,000 ton vessels that now enter the harbor of Buffalo was in these open boats, and salt was their principal freight. This lake trade, however, was soon destroyed by war, the second that the British waged against this country—that of 1812.

The American army under General Harrison lay at Maumee, delayed in its advance to invade Canada by the failure of a contractor to provide transportation by boats. In this emergency Wilkeson was sent for and appealed to by the commander-in-chief, to give his army transportation. He consented. Quickly gathering a force of axemen and carpenters, he hastened to the Grand River in Northern Ohio and attacked the timber growing on its banks, sawed, hewed, rived, framed and planked, and in a wonderfully short time, completed the transports and delivered them at Maumee within the conditions of his contract as to time. His family was at Portland, in Chautauqua County. The British army was in march across the Niagara River from the Canadian side. Armed with a rifle he hurried to Buffalo with his regiment to get into the expected fight to check or defeat the foe. The battle was fought north of Black Rock and near the Conjockada [Scajaquada] Creek. Our militia was overmatched by Wellington's veterans in numbers as well as effectiveness. We were beaten. Buffalo was captured and burned. Wilkeson walked home to Chautauqua to his family, with the comforting knowledge that the rifle he carried on his shoulder had been deadly to not a few of the enemy.

While the war was yet in progress, in the spring of 1814, he loaded a lake boat at Portland with the frames and covering of a store and dwelling house, and, embarking his

family, sailed to Buffalo to settle there permanently and do business as a merchant. The store was erected on the corner of Main and Niagara streets and the dwelling on the north* side of Main, south of Genesee.

Peace was proclaimed on the 14th of December, 1814. Our army passed the winter in cantonment, at what was popularly called "Sandy Town," below the bluff at the Front, and between a range of high sand dunes which then bordered the lake and the present line of the Erie Canal. In the spring of 1815, Buffalo as the nearest town naturally attracted and held a large number of the most lawless of the soldiers. As terrible in peace as in war, they instantly became a disturbing and dangerous social element, against which the citizens sought a summary remedy. They found it in persuading Samuel Wilkeson to accept the then important judicial office of Justice of the Peace, to which they unanimously elected him. His discharge of the duties of a criminal magistrate is one of Buffalo's living traditions. He was a terror to evil-doers. Naturally a lawyer, impetuous, utterly fearless, hating wrong and loving right, looking in an instant through men as through glass, he smote the rascals and ruffians brought before him with terrible quickness and the utmost reach of the law. The dangerous he threw into jail; the turbulent and petit-larcenous he frightened out of town with a voice and look which few men could endure; and he had a way, too, that was perhaps extra-judicial, but was certainly effective, of discouraging young adventurers in the law from espousing the cause of scoundrels. He swept Buffalo clean of the lees of the war, and to the end of his term of office gave his court the reputation of a tribunal in which right was sure to prevail, wrong was sure to be punished, and in which judgment was swift and final. Public opinion never reversed his judgments.

In 1819 he was a leading advocate of the construction of the Erie Canal. 'Twas December. The failure of the "Association" of citizens to comply with the law which author-

* The west side. The Rev. John C. Lord's sketch of him says the house "was erected on Main Street, on the Kremlin triangle, near Niagara Street."—See Buffalo Historical Society *Publications*, Vol. IV., p. 76.

ized the State to loan to the Village of Buffalo \$12,000 with which to build a harbor, on the security of a bond in double the amount, threatened the enterprise with ruin by the loss of the loan through a lapse of the law. The times following the war were exceedingly hard. Money was scarce. Every member of the Harbor Association became discouraged, and, with the exception of Charles Townsend and Oliver Forward, refused to execute the required security. 'Twas Buffalo's crisis. Judge Wilkeson stepped to the front and, with Townsend and Forward, agreed to give the State an approved bond in the penal sum of \$25,000. The harbor loan was saved. In due time a superintendent who had some reputation as a harbor builder was employed, and the work was begun. Mr. Townsend, who was charged with the finances of the enterprise, soon made up his mind that under this superintendent's management the money would not provide a harbor. The obligors on the bond had a conference. The putative harbor-builder was dismissed. Neither Townsend nor Forward was adapted by previous experience or habit of life to such work. Wilkeson had never seen an artificial harbor and had a valuable mercantile business which required his personal attention. But his two associates on the large bond were determined that he, and no one else, should build that harbor, and they finally prevailed on him to abandon his business and take charge of the construction. The next morning at daylight he was on the ground. The great structure was completed in 221 working days.

The Canal Commissioners met in Buffalo in the summer of 1822 to decide finally where the Erie Canal should terminate. The meeting was held in a small room in Benjamin Rathbun's Eagle tavern on Main Street, near Court. Samuel Wilkeson presented the claim of Buffalo and argued it, using a map which he had made of the lower part of the lake, the creek and Niagara River, and drawing with prodigious effect on his thorough knowledge of the action of the winds, currents and waves on all the water connected with both the proposed termini. General Peter B. Porter pleaded for Black Rock. Canal Commissioner De Witt Clinton ju-

dicially summed up the case, and in the name and authority of the State, decided it in favor of Buffalo.

The canal was completed from the Hudson River to Lake Erie on the 26th of October, 1825. It had been previously arranged that the great event should be properly celebrated. A beautiful and swift packet-boat, built of Lake Erie red cedar and named "Seneca Chief," lay moored at the crossing of Commercial Street, ready to make the first passage through the entire length of the canal to tide-water. A new cask, filled with water from Lake Erie, was in her store room to be used in a marriage ceremony to take place in the harbor of New York, by which the inland lakes and the sea should be united forever. On the morning of that day, October 26th, the citizens of Buffalo formed in procession and escorted the Canal Commissioners, De Witt Clinton and Myron Holley, with other public men to the "first boat" which had been expressly built for the round trip. A committee of Buffalo's foremost citizens, of which Samuel Wilkeson was chairman, embarked with Clinton on the "Seneca Chief" and in the bay of New York mingled the fresh water of the inland seas with that of the Atlantic. On the return of the "Seneca Chief" to Buffalo, she brought a cask of sea water, which with suitable ceremonies was mingled with the waters of Erie.

Buffalo was then yet on the border, and the necessity existed for a bold and thorough man on the bench of the Common Pleas Court of Erie County, which, after the disbandment of the army, had demanded of Wilkeson to serve as Justice of the Peace. He was appointed First Judge of the Erie Common Pleas in February, 1821. He had probably never held in his hand an elementary work on law. In not any technical sense was he a lawyer, but in every sense he was a judge. His instantaneous insight, his comprehensive common sense, dignity, intolerant honesty and wise imperativeness carried him with complete credit through a three years' term. Then, in 1824, he was elected to the State Senate and served in that body and in the Court for the Correction of Errors for six years. In 1836 he was elected Mayor of Buffalo.

During all this representative service, these labors for the community of which he was a part, he had prosecuted various kinds of business with sagacity and energy. He was a merchant; a forwarder on the lakes; he built a section of the Erie Canal; was a warehouse man and the owner of vessels; built the first iron foundry erected in Buffalo; started in the town its now immense business of manufacturing steam engines, stoves and hollow-ware. This was an outcome of a previous purchase of a charcoal blast-furnace, in Lake County, Ohio, in the management of which he established his sons, and the erection and operation afterwards of a furnace in Mahoning County, in the same State, the first in this country to "blow in" on raw bituminous coal and smelt iron with that fuel uncoked.

His interest in politics and his conscientiousness and humanity carried him earnestly into the discussions of the problems of American slavery. The tidal wave of abolition was forming. He opposed it. He felt that if the doctrine of unconditional and immediate emancipation of the slaves should obtain, the union of the States would be broken, the negroes in the South would be exterminated by the whites, and an armed struggle for the control of the Federal Government would ensue between the North and South. To save the Union and to save the South, he favored a system of gradual and compensated emancipation. Fearing that a system of slavery could not and would not tolerate the presence of free negroes, he advocated the colonization of the blacks on the west coast of Africa. The control of the American Colonization Society was surrendered to him. He removed to Washington, the headquarters of the Society, and for two years edited its organ, the *African Repository*, governed the Colony of Liberia, instituted commerce with it from the ports of Baltimore and Philadelphia, gathered colonists wherever he could in the South and shipped them to the new Republic. But the flood that was to uproot human bondage in America and to overwhelm the slave oligarchy in a disastrous civil war, was not to be averted. Sentiment in the slave states, as well as in the free, finally rejected colonization as a remedy and it was abandoned.

Judge Wilkeson was thrice married. His first wife, the mother of all his children, was Jane Oram, daughter of James Oram, a Scotch-Irish emigrant who came to this country with John Wilkeson, and with him went into the Revolutionary army and fought through the war as a captain. Of their six children, Elizabeth, John, Eli, William, Louise and Samuel, the eldest and youngest, John and Samuel, are now living.* His second wife was Sarah St. John, of Buffalo, a woman of uncommon intellect and character. His third was Mary Peters, of New Haven, Conn., eminent as an educator of girls. A simple malady, contracted at the first Chicago land sale, mistreated by many physicians, was at last transferred and confirmed into an incurable disease of one of the nobler organs. While he was yet young—for he was organized to live to be a century old—he died in July, 1848, in his 67th year, in a tavern in the Tennessee mountains, through which he was journeying to visit his youngest daughter.

This man was a king among men. 'Twas native to him to seize situations that required treatment and give orders. Men obeyed him without loss of self-respect. His right to command was conceded. He moved masses of men and did not excite jealousy. His knowledge of what was best to do was intuitive. He never had to come to a conclusion of mind by logical steps or by waiting. It is doubtful if he ever lost an opportunity. His knowledge was prodigious. His imagination was extraordinarily rich. His humor was fine. Through all his life men considered it a privilege to hear him talk. The graphic art with words was his. The great magnetic force of the man flashed over the wires of his talk, filling, kindling and lifting his listeners. Had he esteemed himself much and been fond of applause, he would have been an irresistible orator. But an audience made him bashful. He was incorruptibly honest. His scorn of what was dishonorable or mean was grand. He had a dignity that all men respected and felt was becoming. His courage was chivalric and complete. And way down in the lion heart of

* Samuel Wilkeson, Jr., the author of this sketch of his father, died Dec. 2, 1889; his eldest brother, John, died April 4, 1894.

the man was a soft nest in which his children were held and his friends found warmth and sympathy. When a northwest gale swept down the lake and shrieked and moaned through the house, his crooning of one of Burns' ballads always shook his voice and made the tears tremble on his lids.

The cannonade against Fort Sumter which opened the slaveholders' rebellion, was not heard by this veteran as he lay in his grave in Forest Lawn. Eight of his grandsons heard it and went into the Union Army, three of them under age, two seventeen years old, the other sixteen. Not one of the eight served on a general's staff, was in the department of transportation or supplies, or ever placed on detail duty. Each and all were in the line and at the front. John Wilkes Wilkeson, oldest son of John, was killed in the sudden and bloody battle of the Seven Pines, in command of Company K, of the 100 N. Y. Infantry. He was shot in the front. He was pure as he was brave, and true, steadfast and gentle. Bayard Wilkeson, the oldest son of Samuel, was killed in the first day's fighting at Gettysburg, commanding Battery G, of the 4th U. S. Artillery, aged only 19 years, 1 month and 15 days. An infant in the language of the law, he was so thorough a soldier and so good a commander that his Battery had the post of honor in the Eleventh Corps, the right of the line of march.

RECOLLECTIONS OF THE WEST

AND THE FIRST BUILDING OF BUFFALO HARBOR.

HISTORICAL WRITINGS OF
JUDGE SAMUEL WILKESON.

I.

REMOVAL TO WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA.

The present happy population of our country, enjoying not only peace, but all the necessities and conveniences of life, can form no just conception of the poverty and privations endured by the early settlers of the West.

The Revolutionary War had withdrawn much of the labor of the country from agriculture and manufactures. There was no commerce, no money. The country at large could not furnish even necessary clothing. Hard as was the fate of the soldier while starving, freezing, and fighting for independence, still the prospective was cheering to him; he never doubted that his service would be rewarded, and be remembered with gratitude by his country. But when discharged, he received his pay in Continental money, worth but a few cents on the dollar, and, returning poor to his family, found them as destitute as himself. The pride and parade of the camp which had excited and sustained him, were now gone—there was none to relieve or assist him. Some sunk under their discouragements. Brave men, who never shrank from danger in their country's defence, and who cheerfully endured all the hardships incident to the

soldier's life, had not the courage to contend with poverty, nor the resolution to exchange the excitements of war for that diligent pursuit of personal labor which was requisite for the support of their families. Many, however, resolved on crossing the mountains, and becoming farmers in the West. The difficulties to be encountered in effecting this resolution, were many and great. The journey was full of peril, especially to women and children, poorly provided with even the most common necessities.

It may interest some of my readers, who have never felt what privation or suffering is, to know by what expedients the pioneers of the West were enabled to remove their families across the mountains. I have often, when a boy, listened to the recital made by the mothers who were companions in these sufferings, and who at every meeting in after life would recur to them with tears.

My father's family was one of 20 that emigrated from Carlisle, and the neighboring country, to Western Pennsylvania, in the spring of 1784. Our arrangements for the journey would, with little variation, be descriptive of those of the whole caravan. Our family consisted of my father, mother, and three children (the eldest one five, the youngest less than one year old), and a bound boy of 14. The road to be traveled in crossing the mountains, was scarcely, if at all, practicable for wagons. Pack horses were the only means of transportation then, and for years after. We were provided with three horses, on one of which my mother rode, carrying her infant, with all the table furniture and cooking utensils. On another were packed the stores of provisions, the plough irons, and other agricultural tools. The third horse was rigged out with a pack-saddle, and two large creels, made of hickory withes in the fashion of a crate, one over each side, in which were stowed the beds and bedding, and the wearing apparel of the family. In the center of these creels there was an aperture prepared for myself and sister, and the top was well secured by lacing, to keep us in our places, so that only our heads appeared above. Each family was supplied with one or more cows, an indispensable provision for the journey. Their milk furnished the morn-

ing and evening meal for the children, and the surplus was carried in canteens for use during the day.

Thus equipped, the company set out on their journey. Many of the men being unacquainted with the management of horses, or the business of packing, little progress was made the first day or two. When the caravan reached the mountains, the road was found to be hardly passable for loaded horses. In many places the path lay along the edge of a precipice, where, if the horse had stumbled, or lost his balance, he would have been precipitated several hundred feet below. The path was crossed by many streams raised by the melting snow and spring rains, and running with rapid current in deep ravines. Most of these had to be forded, as there were no bridges, and but few ferries. For many successive days, hairbreadth escapes were continually occurring; sometimes horses falling, at others carried away by the current, and the women and children with difficulty saved from drowning. Sometimes in ascending steep acclivities, the lashing of the creels would give way, both creels and children tumble to the ground, and roll down the steep, until arrested by some traveler of the company. In crossing streams, or passing places of more than ordinary difficulty in the road, mothers were often separated from some of their children for many hours.

The journey was made in April when the nights were cold. The men who had been inured to the hardships of war, could with cheerfulness endure the fatigues of the journey. It was the mothers who suffered; they could not, after the toils of the day, enjoy the rest they so much needed at night. The wants of their suffering children must be attended to. After preparing their simple meal, they lay down with scanty covering in a miserable cabin, or as it sometimes happened, in the open air, and often unrefreshed, were obliged to rise early to encounter the fatigues and dangers of another day.

As the company approached the Monongahela, they began to separate. Some settled down near to friends and acquaintances who had preceded them. About half the company crossed the Monongahela, and settled on Chartier's

Creek, a few miles south of Pittsburgh, in a hilly country, well watered and heavily timbered. Settlers' rights to land were obtained on easy terms. My father exchanged one of his horses for a tract (bounded by certain brooks and marked trees) which was found on being surveyed several years after, to contain about 200 acres. The new-comers aided each other in building cabins, which were made of round logs with a slight covering of clapboards. The building of chimneys and laying of floors, were postponed to a future day. As soon as the families were all under shelter, the timber was girdled and the necessary clearing made for planting corn, potatoes, and a small patch of flax. Some of the party were dispatched for seed. Corn was obtained at Pittsburgh, but potatoes could not be procured short of Ligonier valley, distant three days' journey. The season was favorable for clearing, and by unremitted labor, often continued through a part of the night, the women laboring with their husbands in burning brush and logs, their planting was seasonably secured.

But while families and neighbors were cheering each other on with the prospect of an abundant crop, one of the settlements was attacked by the Indians and all of them were thrown into the greatest alarm. This was a calamity which had not been anticipated. It had been confidently believed that peace with Great Britain would secure peace with her Indian allies. The very name of Indian chilled the blood of the late emigrants, but there was no retreat. If they desired to recross the mountains they had not the provisions or means, and nothing but poverty and suffering to expect should they regain their former homes. They resolved to stay. The frontier settlements were kept in continual alarm. Murders were frequent, and many were taken prisoners. These were more generally children, who were taken to Detroit (which in violation of the treaty, continued to be occupied by the British), where they were sold. The Indians often penetrated the settlement several miles, especially when the stealing of horses was a part of their object. Their depredation effected, they retreated precipitately across the Ohio. The settlers for many miles from the Ohio, during six

months of the year lived in daily fear of the Indians. Block-houses were provided in several neighborhoods for the protection of the women and children, while the men carried on their farming operations, some standing guard while the others labored. The frequent calls on the settlers to pursue marauding parties, or perform tours of militia duty, greatly interrupted their attention to their crops and families, and increased the anxieties and sufferings of the women. The Government could grant no relief. It had neither money nor credit. Indeed there was little but the name in the old Confederation.

The State of Pennsylvania was unable to keep up a military force for the defence of her frontier. She had generously exhausted her resources in the struggle for national independence. Her legislature however, passed an act granting a bounty of \$100 on Indian scalps. But an incident occurred which led to the repeal of this law before the termination of the war. A party of Indian spies having entered a wigwam on French Creek, supposed to be untenanted, discovered while breakfasting, an Indian extended on a piece of bark overhead. They took him prisoner, but reflecting that there was no bounty on prisoners, they shot him under circumstances which brought the party into disgrace, and the scalp-bounty law into disrepute.

The settlement was guarded, and in fact preserved from utter dispersion by a few brave men. Brave is a term not sufficiently expressive of the daring boldness of the Bradys, Sprouts, Poes, Lesnets, Weltzells, Crawfords, Williamsons, Pauls, Harrisons and Zaneses, who for years encountered unheard-of privations in the defence of the border settlements, and often carried the war successfully into the Indian country.

II.

DIFFICULTIES OF EARLY SETTLERS.

Beside their exposure to Indian depredations and massacres, the emigrants had other trials to endure, which at

the present day can not be appreciated. One of the most vexatious was, the running away of their horses. As soon as the fly season commenced the horses seemed resolved on leaving the country, and recrossing the mountains. The river was no barrier. They swam the Monongahela, and often proceeded 150 miles before they were taken up. During the husband's absence in pursuit of his horses his wife was necessarily left alone with her children in their unfinished cabin, surrounded by forests in which the howl of the wolf was heard from every hill. If want of provisions, or other causes made a visit to a neighbor's necessary, she must either take her children with her through the woods, or leave them unprotected under the most fearful apprehension that some mischief might befall them before her return. As bread and meat were scarce, milk was the principal dependence for the support of the family. One cow of each family was provided with a bell, which, if good, could be heard from half a mile to a mile. The woman left alone, on getting up in the morning, instead of lacing her corsets, and adjusting her curls, placed herself in the most favorable position for listening to her cow-bell, which she knew as well as she did the voice of her child, and considered it fortunate if she heard it even at a distance. By her nice and never failing discrimination of sounds, she could detect her own, even among a clamor of many other bells; thus manifesting a nicety of ear which, with cultivation, might have been envied by the best musicians of the present day. If her children were small, she tied them in bed, to prevent their wandering, and to guard them from danger from fire and snakes, and, guided by the tinkling of the bell, made her way through the tall weeds, and across the ravines until she found the object of her search. Happy on her return to find her children unharmed, and regardless of a thorough wetting from the dew, she hastened to prepare their breakfast of milk boiled with a little meal or hominy, or in the protracted absence of her husband, it was often reduced to milk alone. Occasionally venison and turkeys were obtained from hunters. Those settlers who were provided with rifles could, with little loss of time, supply their families with fresh meat, but with the new

settlers rifles were scarce. They were more accustomed to the musket.

It may seem to some, that these people, whose hardships and poverty I have been describing, must have been degraded, or they would have been better provided with the means of comfortable living. But they who would come to this conclusion, must be ignorant of the condition of our country at the close of the Revolution. The poverty of the disbanded soldier was not the consequence of idleness, dissipation or vice. The times were in fault, not the man. The money which he had received for his services in the army, proved to be nearly worthless. But, instead of brooding over this injustice, or seeking to redress his wrongs by means which would disturb the public peace, and demolish the temple of liberty which he had labored to erect, he nobly resolved to bear his misfortunes, and brave the dangers and hardships of emigration.

A more intelligent, virtuous, and resolute class of men never settled any country, than the first settlers of Western Pennsylvania; and the women who shared their sufferings and sacrifices were no less worthy. Very many of the settlers in what are now Washington and Allegheny counties were professors of religion of the strictest sect of Seceders. I well remember hearing them, when a boy, rail at Watts's psalms, and other like heresies. At a very early period of the settlement, a distinguished minister of that denomination, Mr. Henderson, was settled near Canonsburg. It was common for families to ride from 10 to 15 miles to meeting. The young people regularly walked five or six miles, and in summer carried their stockings and shoes, if they had any, in their hands, both going and returning. I believe that no churches, or houses of worship, were erected in the country until about 1790. Even in winter the meetings were held in the open air. A grove was selected, which partially sheltered the congregation from the weather. There a log pulpit was erected, and logs furnished the audience with seats. Among the men who attended public worship in winter, ten were obliged to substitute a blanket or coverlet for a great-coat, where one enjoyed the luxury of that article. So great was

the destitution of comfortable clothing, that when the first Court of Common Pleas was held in Catfish, now Washington, Pa., a highly respectable citizen, whose presence was required as a magistrate, could not attend court without first borrowing a pair of leather breeches from an equally respectable neighbor, who was summoned on the grand jury. The latter lent them, and having no others, had to stay at home. This scarcity of clothing will not seem surprising when we consider the condition of the country at that time, and that most of these settlers brought but a scanty supply of clothing and bedding with them. Their stock could not be replenished until flax was grown, and made into cloth.

Those who are reared in contact with the ledgers, the claims, the lawsuits, and the bankruptcies of this contentious age, can form but a faint idea of real pioneer hospitality, in which half of the scanty supply of a needy family was often cheerfully served up to relieve the necessity of the still more needy traveler or emigrant family. From feelings and acts of this kind, as from seeds, has sprung much of the systematized benevolence in which many of our enlightened citizens are engaged.

The labor of all the settlers was greatly interrupted by the Indian war. Although the older settlers had some sheep yet their increase was slow, as the country abounded in wolves. It was therefore the work of time to secure a supply of wool. Deerskin was a substitute for cloth for men and boys, but not women and girls, although they were sometimes compelled to resort to it. The women had to spin, and generally to weave all the cloth for their families, and when the wife was feeble, and had a large family, her utmost efforts could not enable her to provide them with anything like comfortable clothing. The wonder is, and I shall never cease to wonder, that they did not sink under their burthens. Their patient endurance of these accumulated hardships did not arise from a slavish servility, or insensibility to their rights and comforts. They justly appreciated their situation and nobly encountered the difficulties which could not be avoided. Possessing all the affections of the wife, the tenderness of the mother and the sympathies of the woman.

their tears flowed freely for others' griefs, while they bore their own with a fortitude which none but a woman could exercise. The entire education of her children devolved on the mother, and notwithstanding the difficulties to be encountered, she did not allow them to grow up wholly without instruction; but amidst all her numerous cares taught them to read, and instructed them in the principles of Christianity. To accomplish this, under the circumstances, was no easy task. The exciting influences which surrounded them, made the boys restless under restraint. Familiarized as they were to hardships from the cradle, and daily listening to stories of Indian massacres and depredations, and to the heroic exploits of some neighboring pioneer, who had taken an Indian scalp, or by some daring effort saved his own, ignorant of the sports and toys with which children in other circumstances are wont to be amused, no wonder they desired to emulate the soldier, or engage in the scarcely less exciting adventures of the hunter. Yet even many of these boys were subdued by the faithfulness of the mother, who labored to bring them up in the fear of God.

If the reader would reflect upon the difference between the difficulties of emigration at that early day, and those of the present, he must cast his eyes upon the rugged mountain steeps, then an almost unbroken and trackless wilderness, haunted by all sorts of wild and fierce beasts, and poisonous reptiles. He must then observe that civilization has since crossed them by the smooth waters of canals, or the gentle and even ascents of turnpikes and railroads, and strewn them thick with the comforts of life; he may then have a faint idea of the difference of the journey; and as to the difference of living after removal then and now, let him consider that then almost every article of convenience and subsistence must be brought with them, or rather, could neither be brought nor procured, and must necessarily be erased from the vocabulary of house-keeping; let him think what has since been done by the power of steam in ascending almost to the very sources of the many ramifications of our various rivers, carrying all the necessaries and many of the luxuries of life, and depositing them at points easy of access to almost

every new settler, and he will see that if settling is now difficult, it was distressing then. When he further reflects upon the abundant and overflowing products of the West, compared with the absence of agriculture, arts, and manufactures, in those early days, and now that not only our largest rivers and gigantic lakes, but the ocean itself, by the power of increased science, are all converted into mere ferries, he will at once conclude that the emigrants to Liberia, New Holland, Oregon, or California can know nothing of privation compared with the pioneers of the West. Our country now abounds in everything, and commerce extends over the world. If poverty or suffering exist, benevolence seeks it out, and relieves it, whether it be far off or near, whether in Greece or the islands of the sea.

III.

EARLY COMMERCE OF THE WEST.

When our emigrants had struggled through the first summer, and the Indians had returned to their homes, the leading men set about supplying the settlement with salt and iron. These indispensable articles could only be obtained east of the mountains at some point accessible by wagons from a seaport. Winchester and Chambersburgh were salt depots. One man and one or more boys were selected from each neighborhood to take charge of the horses, which the settlers turned into the common concern. Each horse was provided with a packsaddle, a halter, a lash rope, to secure the load, and sufficient feed for 20 days, a part of which was left on the mountains for a return supply. The owner of each horse provided the means of purchasing his own salt. A substitute for cash was found in skins, fur and ginseng, all of which were in demand east of the mountains. With these articles and a supply of provisions for the journey, they set out after selecting a captain for the company. Notwithstanding the fatigues to be endured (the entire return

journey having to be performed on foot) no office was ever sought with more importunity than was this by the boys who were old enough to be selected on this expedition. Not only salt, but merchandise for the supply of the country west of the mountains, was principally carried on pack-horses, until after 1788.

Packing continued to be an important business in Kentucky until 1795. The merchants of that state, for mutual convenience and protection, each provided with as many horses and drivers as his business required, repaired to the place of rendezvous, organized themselves, appointed officers, and adopted regulations for their government. Every man was well armed, provisioned and furnished with camp equipage. The expedition was conducted on military principles. The time and place of stopping and starting were settled by the officers, and sentries always watched at night. The company of merchants carried to the East furs, peltries, ginseng, flax, linen, cloth, and specie (the latter obtained from New Orleans in exchange for tobacco, corn and whiskey). These articles found a ready sale in Philadelphia or Baltimore for dry goods, groceries, and hardware, including bar-iron and copper for stills. These caravans would transport many tons of goods, and when arranged by experienced hands, the goods could be delivered without injury in Kentucky. It was necessary to balance the loads with great care in order to preserve the backs of the horses from injury. If well broke to packing, they could travel 25 miles a day. After the final peace with the Indians, this mode of transportation ceased; and the packers, who had been the lions of the day, were succeeded by still greater lions, the keel boatmen, who will be noticed hereafter.

Emigration continued to Western Pennsylvania. Even the most exposed districts increased in population, and many of the emigrants of 1785 and 1786 were what was then considered rich. They introduced into the country large stocks of cattle, sheep and hogs, cleared large farms, built grist and saw-mills, and gave employment to many poor settlers. But notwithstanding the brightening prospects, the healthy climate and good soil, many of the settlers became restless and

dissatisfied with their location, which they believed inferior to Kentucky or some other country still farther off in the West. Numbers sold their improvements in the fall of 1786 and prepared for descending the Ohio with their families in the spring. The various hardships which they had encountered in providing a home for their families seemed to increase their enterprise and to inspire them with a desire of new adventures. Their anticipated home was as much exposed to the tomahawk as the one which they were about to leave; beside the hazard of descending the river 500 miles in a flat-boat was very great. The capture of the boats and destruction of whole families frequently occurred. But these dangers did not lessen the tide of emigration which set down the river from 1786 to '95.

Few of the emigrants were well to live. They had sold their land in Pennsylvania for a small sum which they received in barter, generally in copper for stills, which was in great demand. A good still of 100 gallons would purchase 200 acres of land within ten miles of Pittsburgh, and in Kentucky could be exchanged for a much larger tract. The erection of mills gave a great stimulus to the industry of the settlers of Western Pennsylvania. New Orleans furnished a good market for all the flour, bacon, and whiskey which the upper country could furnish, and those who in 1784, had suffered for want of provisions, in 1790 became exporters.

The trade to New Orleans, like every enterprise of the day, was attended with great hardship and hazard. The right bank of the Ohio for hundreds of miles was alive with hostile Indians. The voyage was performed in flat-boats, and occupied from four to six months. Several neighbors united their means in building the boat, and in getting up the voyage; some giving their labor, and others furnishing materials. Each put on board his own produce at his own risk, and one of the owners always accompanied the boat as captain or supercargo. A boat of ordinary size required about six hands, each of whom generally received \$60 a trip on his arrival at New Orleans. They returned either by sea to Baltimore, where they would be within 300 miles of home, or more generally through the wilderness, a distance of about

2,000 miles. A large number of these boatmen were brought together at New Orleans. Their journey home could not be made in small parties, as they carried large quantities of specie, and the road was infested by robbers. The outlaws and fugitives from justice from the states resorted to this road. Some precautionary arrangements were necessary. The boatmen who preferred returning through the wilderness, organized and selected their officers. These companies sometimes numbered several hundred, and a greater proportion of them were armed. They were provided with mules to carry the specie and provisions, and some spare ones for the sick. Those who were able purchased mules, or Indian ponies for their use, but few could afford to ride. As the journey was usually performed after the sickly season commenced, and the first 600 or 700 miles was through a flat, unhealthy country, with bad water, the spare mules were early loaded with the sick. There was a general anxiety to hasten through this region of malaria. Officers would give up their horses to the sick, companions would carry them forward as long as their strength enabled them; but although everything was done for their relief, which could be done without retarding the progress of their journey, many died on the way, or were left to the care of the Indian or hunter who had settled on the road. Many who survived an attack of fever, and reached the healthy country of Tennessee, were long recovering sufficient strength to resume their journey home.

One would suppose that men would be reluctant to engage in a service which exposed them to so great suffering and mortality, without extraordinary compensation, but such were the love of adventure, and recklessness of danger which characterized the young of the West, that there was no lack of hands to man the boats, although their number increased from 25 to 50 per cent. yearly. The fact that some of these boatmen would return with 50 Spanish dollars, which was a large sum at that day, was no small incentive to others, who perhaps had never had a dollar of their own.

IV.

TO ST. CLAIR'S DEFEAT.

The New Orleans trade gave new life to the country. It furnished specie for paying taxes, and purchasing such necessities as could not be obtained for barter. Pittsburgh profited greatly by this trade. Although but a small village, composed principally of log houses, yet it was then, as now, the central point of business for the country west of the mountains. The produce of the country was here exchanged for goods, chiefly obtained from Philadelphia. This was also the place of embarkation for all the military and mercantile expeditions, as well as emigrants, for the lower country, and the resort of boat-builders, boatmen and pilots for the river. Being a military post, a considerable amount of Government money was annually expended here. These advantages made it a favorable location for merchants and mechanics, who found a ready demand for their iron, leather, hats, etc. The character of the citizens for sobriety and good morals was such, that farmers in the neighborhood sought to apprentice their sons to the mechanics of Pittsburgh; and these hardy boys from the country rarely became dissipated, but grew up orderly and industrious, thus perpetuating the character for purity of morals, which the place still enjoys. Pittsburgh owes much of this reputation to John Wilkins, a magistrate under whose administration every violation of the law was promptly punished. Even the lawless boatmen stood in awe of him.

The subject of education was sadly neglected both in Pittsburgh and the surrounding country. The first settlers were mostly Scotch and Irish, who, though sober, industrious and enterprising, prompt to relieve the distressed, and generous to assist the needy, yet had little taste for public improvements, and rarely contributed voluntarily for the promotion of any public object. They even paid their road tax grudgingly. They built no bridges, and would leave a tree accidentally fallen across the road, to lie there until it rotted. Their neglect of providing the means of education

for their children was however their great error. While struggling with adversity and combating the Indians, the establishment of schools in many of the frontier settlements was out of the question; but after peace with the Indians had been effected, and provisions became abundant, there was no apology for neglecting the subject of education. Their school houses, when they were induced to build any, were of the cheapest and most uninviting kind, built of logs, open, low and smoky, lighted with one, or at most two windows of greased paper. The schoolmaster was hired at the lowest wages, and generally one who could get no other employment, and whose chief qualification was knowing how to use the rod. From such means of instruction little benefit could be expected. The boys of that day were brought up under circumstances which early inspired them with a wild, adventurous spirit, and gave them a premature ability for usefulness in the field. They very naturally preferred joining the men at their labor to being confined in the house to the study of Dillworth's Spelling Book, or John Rogers' Primer, the only school books I ever saw when a child. The scarcity of books was a great hindrance to those who had a taste for study. If a boy resolved to apply his leisure moments to reading, he was perhaps limited to Young's *Night Thoughts*, Hervey's *Meditations*, and Knox's *History of the Church of Scotland*. In the absence of other means of improvement, debating clubs were formed in some neighborhoods, which boys in their teens would attend, once a week, from a distance of several miles. These meetings were encouraged by the parents, who frequently attended. Some of the members rose to high places in after life, and no doubt much of their success was owing to the stimulus which their minds received from those youthful associations. There was a feeble effort made in Pittsburgh and Washington [Pa.] to provide the means of education, and a successful one at Cannonsburgh, by a few enlightened men, at the head of whom was the Rev. Mr. McMullen. A college was early established, which has continued to be an eminently useful institution.

The General Government made but feeble efforts to pro-

tect the frontier settlements on the Ohio until after the adoption of the new Constitution. Only a few companies of regular troops were stationed there. In 1791 the Government, yielding to the pressing importunities of the West, appointed Gen. Harmar to the command of the Western posts, preparatory to a campaign against the Indians. A draft was made on the militia of Western Pennsylvania and Kentucky for 1,200 men, who repaired to Fort Washington, where they were joined by 300 regulars, and marched into the Indian country. The Indians refused battle to the main body, but defeated one detachment of several hundred men on the Scioto, and routed with great slaughter, a still larger detachment on the Au Glaize. A large proportion of the killed were of course militia. Both Kentucky and Western Pennsylvania were filled with mourning. The Indians, elated with their success, renewed their attacks on the frontier with increased force and ferocity. Meetings were called to devise means for defending the settlements. The policy of employing regular officers to command militia was denounced; and petitions were extensively circulated, praying the President to employ militia only in defence of the frontier, and offering to embody immediately a sufficient force to carry the war into the Indian country. The President did not favor the prayer of the petitioners, but increased the regular army on the frontier, and appointed General St. Clair to the command. Energetic measures were adopted to furnish him with arms, stores, etc., for an early campaign, but the difficulties and delays incident to furnishing an army so far removed from military depots, with cannon, ammunition, provisions, and the means of transportation, were so great that much time was lost before General St. Clair was able to move his army from Fort Washington, and then it was said to be in obedience to express orders, and against his own judgment, as he was provided neither with sufficient force, nor the means of transportation. He was attacked and most signally defeated. The killed and mortally wounded were over 700. The cannon, camp equipage and baggage of the army fell into the hands of the Indians. The

disastrous failure of this campaign increased the growing dissatisfaction of the settlers in Western Pennsylvania to the administration of the General Government.

V.

THE WHISKEY INSURRECTION.

The Federal Constitution, which had recently been adopted, was not generally approved of in this section of the country. Many believed that the new government would usurp the power of the states, destroy the liberties of the people, and end in a consolidated aristocracy, if not in a monarchy. It was even alleged by many that the reason why General Washington had refused to entrust the defence of the frontiers to the people themselves, was his desire to increase the regular army, that it might be ultimately used for destroying their liberties. The defeat of Gen. St. Clair's army exposed the whole range of the frontier settlements on the Ohio to the fury of the Indians. The several settlements made the best arrangements in their power for their defence. The Government took measures for recruiting, as soon as possible, the western army. Gen. Wayne, a favorite with the western people, was appointed to the command: but a factious opposition in Congress to the military and financial plans of the Administration, delayed the equipment of the army for nearly two years. While Gen. Wayne was preparing to penetrate the Indian country in the summer of 1794, the attention of the Indians was drawn to their own defence, and the frontiers were relieved from their attacks. But Western Pennsylvania, although relieved from war, seemed to have no relish for peace. Having been some time engaged in resisting the revenue laws, her opposition was now increased to insurrection.

The seeds of party had been early sown and had taken deep root in the western counties. Every act of the General Government which manifested a spirit of conciliation towards the British (who were charged with inciting the In-

dians to war on the frontier), was regarded with marked disapprobation. The Irish population which prevailed in the country, generally sympathized with the French and felt the most lively interest in the French Revolution, and the highest respect for their agents in this country. The neutral policy which was adopted in relation to France and England was unpopular. Democratic societies were formed in every part of the country, the measures of the Government denounced, and especially the act of laying a duty on distilled spirits. This temper of disaffection was inflamed by the extensive circulation of newspapers, the organs of the French party, and of speeches of members of Congress in the French interest and opposed to the Administration. The ordinary means of counteracting the influence of these mischievous publications were limited. The newspapers which defended the policy of the Government had little circulation in the West, and the friends of the Administration neglected, until it was too late, to disabuse the public mind.

The resistance to the excise law, from its first enactment, had been so decided and general, that the President desiring to remove its most objectionable features, recommended to Congress a modification of the act. This was done. The concession, however, served only to increase the opposition. Every expedient was adopted to avoid the payment of the duties. In order to allay opposition, as far as possible, Gen. John Neville, a man of the most deserved popularity, was appointed collector for Western Pennsylvania. He accepted the appointment from a sense of duty to his country. He was one of the few men of great wealth who put his all at hazard for independence. At his own expense he raised and equipped a company of soldiers, marched them to Boston, and placed them with his son under the command of Gen. Washington. He was brother-in-law to the distinguished Gen. Morgan, and father-in-law to Majors Craig and Kirkpatrick, officers highly respected in the western country. Besides Gen. Neville's claims as a soldier and patriot, he had contributed greatly to relieve the sufferings of the settlers in his vicinity. He divided his last loaf with the needy; and in a season of more than ordinary scarcity, as soon as his

wheat was sufficiently matured to be converted into food, he opened his fields to those who were suffering with hunger. If any man could have executed this odious law, Gen. Neville was that man. He entered upon the duties of his office, and appointed his deputies from among the most popular citizens.

The first attempts, however, to enforce the law were resisted. One or more deputies were tarred and feathered, others were compelled to give up their appointments to avoid like treatment. The opposers of the law, having proceeded to open acts of resistance, now assumed a bolder attitude. An assembly of several hundred men proceeded in the night to Gen. Neville's house, and demanded the surrender of his commission, but, finding him prepared for defence, they attempted no violence. He had not doubted that there was sufficient patriotism in the country to enable the civil authorities to protect him in the discharge of his duty, but in this he was mistaken. The magistrates were powerless. Their authority was set at defiance. Although a large majority of the disaffected never dreamed of carrying their opposition to the measures of Government to open resistance, yet they had aided to create a tempest which they could neither direct nor allay.

The population received a large increase yearly of Irish emigrants, who had been obliged to leave their own country on account of opposition to its government; besides which there was a large floating population who had found employment in guarding the frontiers, and who had nothing to lose by insurrection. Both of these classes joined the insurgent party and even forced them to adopt more extreme measures than they had at first contemplated. They at length proceeded so far as to form an organized resistance to the law. Meetings were held, and officers appointed in the most excited districts. Several hundred men volunteered to take Gen. Neville into immediate custody. His friends in Pittsburgh, being apprised of these movements, advised that measures should be adopted for his protection. But they were greatly mistaken in relation to the amount of force which would be requisite.

Maj. Kirkpatrick, with only a dozen soldiers from the garrison at Pittsburgh, repaired to Gen. Neville's house, which was that very evening (July 15th, 1794) surrounded by about 500 men. The General, yielding to the importunity of his friends, had on the approach of the insurgents withdrawn from his house accompanied by his servant. The assailants demanded that the General and his papers should be given up to them. On being refused a fire was commenced which continued some time until Major McFarland, an influential citizen who was one of the assailants, was shot. Gen. Neville's house was situated on an elevated plane which overlooked the surrounding country. A range of negro houses was on one side, and barns and stables on the other. These were fired by the assailants, and when the flames were about to communicate with the dwelling-house the party within surrendered. The soldiers were dismissed. The son of Gen. Neville, who came up during the attack, was taken prisoner, but with Maj. Kirkpatrick, was released on condition of leaving the country.

This violent outrage produced a strong sensation. It was in the season of harvest, when the people of the surrounding country were collected in groups to aid each other in cutting their grain. During the day it became known that preparations were making to take Gen. Neville. As he could call to his aid nearly a hundred of his faithful slaves, who had learned the use of arms in the Indian war, it was believed that he would defend himself. Few if any of the immediate neighbors of the General were engaged in the attack, but instead of going to his defence, they collected from a distance of several miles around, and selected the most favorable positions in the neighborhood for listening to, or seeing the anticipated attack.

At about ten o'clock in the evening I witnessed the commencement of the fire, at a distance of two miles, and saw the flames ascend from the burning houses until the actors in the scene became visible in the increasing light. It was a painful sight, especially to those who had experienced the hospitality of the only fine mansion in the country, to see it destroyed by a lawless mob, and its inmates exposed to their

fury. Even those who were opposed to the measures of the Administration, and had countenanced resistance to the execution of the excise law, were overwhelmed at this appalling commencement of open insurrection. Meetings were proposed by the friends of order for the purpose of concerting measures for their own security, but so much time was lost in deliberation, that the insurgents became too strong to be resisted. Men of property and influence who had become compromised in the destruction of Gen. Neville's house, exerted themselves to involve the whole country in open resistance to the laws. Several officers of the Government, and others whose influence was feared, were forced to leave the country. The mail was robbed and the names of the writers of several letters found in it, were added to the list of the proscribed. Those who were thus expelled from their country, dared not take the usual road across the mountains, but were compelled to proceed by a dangerous and circuitous route through the wilderness.

The insurgents seemed resolved that there should be no neutrals in the country. Immediately after the first outbreak they called a general meeting at Braddock's Field to decide upon the measures which should be further taken in relation to the excise. Some 7,000 or 8,000 assembled, and an attorney from Washington named Bradford, assumed the command. He was a blustering demagogue, and destitute of the courage and decision necessary to direct an insurrection. The leaders had no plan digested for future action, nor could this extraordinary assemblage, whose grotesque appearance it would require a Falstaff to describe, tell for what purpose they had come together. A committee was appointed to deliberate. Hugh Henry Breckenridge, a distinguished lawyer of Pittsburgh, who filled a large space in the country, and was known as an opposer of some of the measures of the Administration, and therefore presumed to be in favor of resistance, was appointed on this committee. Possessing great power of persuasion, he succeeded in preventing the committee from recommending energetic measures and urged moderation until the effect of the past resistance should be known. The report of the committee merely

recommended the holding of a meeting by delegates from the several towns in the country at Parkinson's ferry a few weeks ensuing.

On receiving this report much dissatisfaction was manifested. The assembly however dispersed, 2,000 or 3,000 men only marching in a body to Pittsburgh. A portion of these proposed to burn the place, but the kindness of the citizens in supplying them with provisions, and the influence of the more respectable of their associates, induced them to leave the village unharmed. They contented themselves with burning the mansion of Maj. Kirkpatrick in the vicinity. In the meantime, the country was in a state of great alarm. Parties of the most reckless of the insurgents, freed from all restraints of law, paraded the country, and threatened destruction to all tories and aristocrats (epithets applied to all who did not join them). In face of all these dangers, however, many of the towns sent as delegates, friends of law, and supporters of the Administration.

VI.

THE WHISKEY INSURRECTION, CONCLUDED.

The President, desirous to avoid the use of force, had appointed three commissioners to repair to the western country, and offer pardon to all offenders who would return to their duty, and submit to the laws. These commissioners arrived about the time of the meeting of the convention. Some of the delegates to the convention were men of distinguished ability; at their head was Albert Gallatin. Although a foreigner, who could with difficulty make himself understood in English, yet he presented with great force the folly of past resistance, and the ruinous consequences to the country of the continuance of the insurrection. He urged that the Government was bound to vindicate the laws, and that it would surely send an overwhelming force against them, unless the proposed amnesty was accepted. Mr. Gal-

latin placed the subject in a new light, and showed the insurrection to be a much more serious affair than it had before appeared. The ardor of the most reckless was moderated. A conference was had with the Government commissioners, and the question whether the country should submit or not, was earnestly discussed. A strong disposition was manifested to accept the terms proposed. The acts of violence which had already been committed, made some of the leaders tremble in view of what might follow. The machinery of the so-called democratic clubs was found not to work so well in this country as in Paris, and Lynch law, executed by a set of desperadoes, was proved to be a poor exchange for the protection of law regularly administered.

Many who had been seduced from their allegiance repented of their folly, and would gladly have retraced their steps, but this it was not easy to do. They dreaded the vengeance of their associates. "The Sons of Liberty," as the insurgents styled themselves, could not bear traitors, and those who forsook their party were exposed to they knew not what acts of violence and outrage. For notwithstanding the returning good sense of many, there were others who still entertained such deep prejudices against the Administration, and had imbibed such wild notions of liberty, that they desired the separation of the West from the Union. They were deceived by exaggerated accounts of the disaffection which prevailed throughout Pennsylvania, Kentucky, and West Virginia. It had been represented from these places, that if Western Pennsylvania would successfully resist for a few months their cause would be espoused by a party so strong as to set the General Government at defiance. Although the convention was in favor of submission, yet as their constituents had not delegated to them the power of settling that question, it was concluded to refer it back to the people, who in town meetings should decide it for themselves.

Early in September the gratifying news was received that Gen. Wayne had gained a signal victory over the combined force of the Indians on the Maumee. It not only

removed the dissatisfaction to which the great delays attending the campaign had given rise, but it was the best possible illustration of the benefits to be derived from the protection of the General Government, which had been greatly underrated. As a permanent peace with the Indians was now considered certain, this increased the desire for tranquility at home. The citizens convened in town meetings to consider the terms of submission proposed by the commissioners of the Government, printed copies of which had been distributed through the country. In some townships the meetings failed entirely, in others they were interrupted and dispersed before having accomplished any business. But in a large majority of the townships the attendance was general, good order was preserved, and the submission papers very generally signed. These results inspired the friends of Government with courage and greatly dispirited the insurgents. By the first of October tranquility and good order were in a great measure restored.

But as there were still malcontents in the country who resisted the execution of the revenue laws, the Government marched forward the army which it had for some time been organizing, consisting of about 14,000 militia from Virginia, Maryland, New Jersey and Pennsylvania. An unusual quantity of rain having fallen during the autumn, the army suffered greatly on their march, particularly several regiments composed of mechanics, merchants and others from the cities who were not inured to such hardships. They became so disheartened, that if the passes of the mountains had been disputed by only a thousand resolute insurgents, the army might have been greatly embarrassed, if not defeated. But they met no resistance, either in the mountains or the infected districts. Bradford and a few others who had most to fear fled to the Spanish country on the Mississippi; other equally guilty but less notorious offenders sought security in sequestered settlements. "Not a dog wagged his tongue" against the army which advanced to Pittsburgh and took up their quarters. Gen. Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury, represented the Government, and his quarters were soon thronged with informers, and those

who had suffered from the insurgents, and sought compensation.

A kind of inquisitorial court was opened in which testimony was taken against individuals denounced for treasonable acts or expressions. Many of the informers, influenced by prejudice or malice, implicated those who had been guilty of no offence against the Government. After a few days spent in these "star chamber" proceedings, the dragoons were put in requisition, and the officers furnished with the names of the offenders, proceeded with guides, of whom there was no lack, to arrest them. Such of the proscribed as apprehended no danger, were soon taken, and, without any intimation of the offence with which they stood charged, or time for preparation, about 300 were carried to Pittsburgh. Here many found acquaintances, and influential friends, who interposed in their behalf, and obtained their immediate release. Others, less fortunate, were sent to Philadelphia for trial, where they were imprisoned for ten or twelve months without even indictments being found against them. But few of the really guilty were taken, while many who had committed no offence against the law, but unfortunately had fallen under the displeasure of an informer, suffered the punishment due only to the guilty. The following may serve as an instance:

A lieutenant of the army, while it was halting at Pittsburgh, visited his uncle in the vicinity, and accompanied him to a husking party, where on using the term rebel, as applicable to the citizens generally, he was rebuked by a respectable old gentleman of the party. The officer replied insolently, upon which a young man (for young men in that day always felt bound to protect the aged), interposed and would have treated him with the severity he deserved, had not my father begged him off. The officer returned to Pittsburgh, and the next day, both of those who had offended him at the husking, were arrested. The young man found friends who procured his liberation, but the old man, notwithstanding efforts were made for his release, was imprisoned for more than six months. I believe that but a single individual was tried. This was one of the mail rob-

bers, who was convicted of treason, and sentenced to be hung, but was finally pardoned.

The army remained at Pittsburgh only long enough to recruit from fatigue and receive their pay. Many of them, disgusted with a soldier's life, obtained their discharge, and either settled in the country, or purchased horses on which to return home. A few battalions only of the army were retained in the country through the winter; the remainder resumed their march and recrossed the mountains.

In order more effectually to eradicate the insurrectionary spirit which had disturbed the country, a regiment of dragoons was enlisted from such citizens as were well affected toward the Government, and stationed in several settlements. A detachment of this force was kept constantly in motion. Sometimes they accompanied the excise officers, who visited every distillery in the country. Some of them being situated in deep ravines, remote from traveled roads, had escaped the notice of the excise officers before the insurrection, but they were now brought to light, as there were informers enough to disclose all delinquencies.

The excise law did not impose a duty per gallon, but a specific sum computed on the capacity of the still for each month that it was licensed to run. Distillers everywhere submitted to this law, although their opinions of its justice or policy might not have undergone any great change. Those who had worked their stills secretly, or in open disregard of the law, were now obliged either to pay up, or secure all arrearages, before they could obtain a license. During the winter many of the most desperate of the agitators left the country. In the spring the military was withdrawn and business resumed its wonted course.

The insurrection for a time threatened the most disastrous consequences, and if it had not been promptly crushed might have subverted the Government. Yet it was not without its advantages. Its suppression tested the patriotism of the people, and their attachment to the Constitution, points on which there had been much doubt, both at home and abroad. The practical experiment of raising a large army by draft, of militia, from several states, and marching them

in an inclement season, under great privations, several hundred miles to suppress a revolt, was a most gratifying evidence that the Government was founded in the affections of the people, and that, however they might differ about the mode of its administration, yet the Government itself was to be sustained.

Nor was it the Government alone that profited by the insurrection. The rapid growth of the country west of the mountains may be dated from that period. Although the country had for years abounded in stock and provisions, yet there was no home market where either could be sold for cash. There was little money in circulation and of course little stimulus to industry. The price of a cow in barter was about \$5, and of a good horse from \$10 to \$20. Wheat was about 30 cents a bushel. But the army created a demand for both provisions and horses, which increased their value from 100 to 300 per cent. Nearly \$1,000,000 of Government money was paid out in the country. Had Western Pennsylvania been compelled to refund this amount, as the penalty of her revolt, she would still have been a gainer. A large accession of settlers from the army greatly increased the price of land, money became plenty, and a cash home market was established.

But the prosperity which resulted from the insurrection did not wipe away its reproach. The character of the people suffered greatly, and the more so as the actual causes of this insurrection were misunderstood and misrepresented. It has generally been believed that the Western people were so devoid of patriotism, and so insensible to the blessings of a free government, that they refused to be taxed for its support; and that they regarded whiskey so necessary an article of consumption as to be unwilling to have its price enhanced by a duty. These opinions do them great injustice. Although the citizens generally were in the habit of drinking whiskey, yet strange as it may appear at this day, they were not drunkards. The custom of the country was to furnish whiskey in harvest; and at all collections of neighbors to aid each other in log-rollings, raising cabins or husking corn, whiskey was indispensable. The prevailing forms of hos-

pitality could not be carried out without it. If one neighbor called on another to make a visit or do an errand, the bottle and a cup of water were invariably presented him, after being first tasted by the host, who drank to the health of his guest. Women treated their visitors with whiskey made palatable with sugar, milk and spices. It was used as a medicine in several diseases, and proved an unfailing remedy in some. Among laborers the bottle was passed around, and there was always some kind-hearted man to see that the little boys were not forgotten. Morning bitters were generally used, and a dram before meals. But this common use of liquor was not limited to Western Pennsylvania, it prevailed in all the new settlements, if not over the United States.

There was nothing, at that day, disreputable in either drinking or making whiskey. Distilling was esteemed as moral and respectable as any other business. It was early commenced and extensively carried on in Western Pennsylvania. There was neither home nor foreign market for rye, the principal grain then raised in that part of the country, and which was a profitable and sure crop. The grain would not bear packing across the mountains; a horse could not carry more than four bushels of it, but could carry the product of 24 bushels when converted into high wines, which found a market east of the mountains, and could be used in the purchase of salt, goods, etc. The settlers at an early day calculated that the whiskey trade would become a great source of wealth to the country, when the right way to New Orleans should have been settled and that market fully opened to their produce. Monongahela whiskey was reputed to be superior to any in the United States, and had the preference in every market. There was very naturally a general disposition to engage in distilling, as the only business which promised sure gain; and the people of Western Pennsylvania regarded a tax on whiskey in the same light as the citizens of Ohio would now regard a United States tax on lard, pork or flour.

There were many aggravating circumstances calculated to render the whiskey tax odious, and to array the western people in hostility to the Government. For years they had

suffered unspeakable hardships and privations; the Government had neither protected the frontiers from Indian massacres, nor paid the militia service of the settlers, and the Western posts had been suffered to remain in possession of the British, contrary to the treaty of peace. Thus exposed, and deprived of the advantages of peace, which were enjoyed by the rest of the United States, destitute of money and the means of procuring it, a direct tax appeared to them unjust and oppressive. Unjust, because they had not received that protection which every government owes to its citizens; oppressive, because the tax was levied on the scanty product of their agricultural labor, and was required to be paid in specie, or its equivalent, which could not be furnished. Whether these opinions were well founded or not, it is doubtful whether even the law-abiding descendants of the Pilgrims would have quietly submitted to the law under just such circumstances. The settlers cultivated their land for years at the peril of their lives. Like the Jews under Nehemiah, their weapons of defence were never laid aside; and when by extraordinary efforts they were enabled to raise a little more grain than their immediate wants required, they were met with a law restraining them in the liberty of doing what they pleased with the surplus.

The policy of laying a direct tax on the products of labor, found few advocates in the western country, and many violent opposers. It was contended that a tax on whiskey was but the commencement of a system of taxation as odious and oppressive as that of the British Government, which had given rise to the War of the Revolution, and that, if the system were carried out, independence would prove but an empty name. It was argued that if rye could not be converted into whiskey without a license from Government, wool could not be converted into a hat, nor a hide into boots without its special permission; and that it was against just such assumptions of power that the American people had rebelled, and had continued for seven years to pour out their blood freely rather than submit to the evils and degrading consequences of British taxation. They had fought for liberty, and not for a change of masters; and while the

wounds they had received in battling against tyrants were scarcely yet healed, it is not astonishing that they should regard with abhorrence the swarm of Government officers which everywhere beset them, spying into their domestic affairs, and demanding, with official arrogance, more than a tithe of their hard labor. This was too much to be borne by men who were imbued with the wild spirit of liberty which then pervaded our country. Whatever might have been the necessities of Government, or however defensible the principle of direct taxation, a more critical time to make the experiment could not have been selected. Our whole country was agitated with political discussions. The political volcano which had broken out in France, and was sweeping over Europe like a sea of lava, threatening to overwhelm in its fury all forms of government, cast its frightful glare across the Atlantic, and so perverted the political vision as to make law appear like tyranny, and anarchy like liberty.

VII.

CHANNEL OF TRADE—WESTERN BOATMEN.

The prosperity and security resulting to the people from the suppression of the insurrection, were increased by a treaty concluded at Greenville* with the combined Indian tribes, who had made war on our frontiers. This treaty was hailed with joy by all the settlers. The Ohio frontiers had long suffered all the horrors of Indian war; many children had lost their parents, many widows mourned their murdered husbands, and many mothers their lost children, some of whom had been for years in captivity among the Indians, and some sold to the French or English and held in bondage in Canada. Provision was made in the treaty for restoration of these captives. But it was not the frontiers alone which were to profit by a lasting peace with the Indians. Great

* The treaty of Greenville, O., signed Aug. 3. 1795, between Gen. Wayne and ten of the Northwest tribes, ceded to the United States about two thirds of the present State of Ohio.

national interests were promoted by it. The frontier posts, Mackinaw, Detroit, Niagara, and Oswego, which the British had continued to occupy in violation of the treaty of peace, were soon after surrendered. The British no longer possessed the power of exciting the Indians to war, and of furnishing them supplies, which, it was alleged, they had been in the practice of doing.

The occupation of these posts by the American army opened new fields of enterprise. The garrisons were to be supplied with provisions, ordnance and military stores. These could only be transported by vessels on the lakes, which had to be built, fitted out, and manned. This was a profitable employ to a large number of laborers.

Among others, whose attention was drawn to this field of enterprise opened on the lakes, was Gen. Jacob O'Hara, a distinguished citizen of Pittsburgh. He entered into a contract with the Government to supply Oswego with provisions, which could then be furnished from Pittsburgh cheaper than from the settlements on the Mohawk. Gen. O'Hara was a far-sighted calculator; he had obtained correct information in relation to the manufacture of salt at Salina, and in his contract for provisioning the garrison, he had in view the supplying of the western country with salt from Onondaga. This was a project which few men would have thought of, and fewer undertaken. The means of transportation had to be created on the whole line, boats and teams had to be provided to get the salt from the works to Oswego, a vessel built to transport it to the landing below the falls, wagons procured to carry it to Schlosser; then boats constructed to carry it to Black Rock; there another vessel was required to transport it to Erie. The road to the head of French Creek had to be improved, and the salt carried in wagons across the portage, and finally boats provided to float it to Pittsburgh. It required no ordinary sagacity and perseverance to give success to this speculation. Gen. O'Hara, however, could execute as well as plan. He packed his flour and provisions in barrels suitable for salt. These were reserved in his contract. Arrangements were made with the manufacturers, and the necessary advances paid, to

secure a supply of salt. Two vessels were built, one on Lake Erie and one on Lake Ontario, and the means of transportation on all the various sections of the line were secured. The plan fully succeeded, and salt of a pretty fair quality was delivered at Pittsburgh, and sold at four dollars per bushel; but half the price of the salt obtained by packing across the mountains. The vocation of the packers was gone. The trade opened by this man, whose success was equal to his merits, and who led the way in every great enterprise of the day, was extensively prosecuted by others. A large amount of capital was invested in the salt trade, and the means of transportation so greatly increased that in a few years Pittsburgh market was supplied with Onondaga salt at twelve dollars per barrel of five bushels.

Much of the surplus produce of the country bordering on the lower Ohio and its branches, which rapidly increased after the permanent peace with the Indians, could find no other market than Pittsburgh. This rendered an ascending navigation indispensable to the prosperity of the country, and led to the introduction of keel-boats. These boats were long and narrow, sharp at bow and stern, and of light draft. They were provided with running-boards, extending from bow to stern, on each side of the boat. The space between the running-boards was enclosed and roofed with boards or shingles. These boats would carry from 20 to 40 tons of freight, well protected from the weather, and required from six to ten men, besides the captain, who steered the boat, to propel them up stream. Each man was provided with a pole with a heavy socket. The crew, divided equally on each side, set their poles near the head of the boat, and bringing the end of the pole to their shoulders, with their bodies bent, walked slowly down the running-board to the stern, returning at a quick pace to the bow for a new set.

In ascending rapids, the greatest effort of the whole crew was required, so that only one at a time could shift his pole. This ascending of rapids was attended with great danger, especially if the channel was rocky. The slightest error in pushing or steering the boat exposed her to be thrown across the current, and to be brought sidewise in contact with rocks

which would destroy her. Or, if she escaped injury the crew would have lost caste who had let their boat swing in the rapids. A boatman who could not boast that he had never swung nor backed in a shoot, was regarded with contempt, and never trusted with the head pole, the place of honor among the keel-boatmen. It required much practice to become a first-rate boatman, and none would be taken, even on trial, who did not possess great muscular power.

VIII.

THE LIFE OF THE KEEL-BOATMEN.

Hard and fatiguing as was the life of a boatman, it was rare that any of the class exchanged his vocation. There was a charm in the excesses, the fightings and the frolics which the boatmen anticipated at the end of their voyage, which cheered them on. Such an effeminate expression as "I am tired," never escaped the mouth of a boatman. After the labors of the day, he went to rest highly stimulated with whiskey, rose from his hard bed with the first dawn of day, and with a large draught of bitters reanimated his exhausted powers and was ready to obey the order, "Stand to your poles and set off." As the boats were laid to for the night in an eddy, a part of the crew could give them headway on starting in the morning, while the others struck up a tune on their fiddles, and commenced their day's work with music to scare away the devil and secure good luck. The boatmen, as a class, were masters of the fiddle, and the music, heard through the distance from these boats, was more sweet and animating than any I have ever heard since. When the boats stopped for the night at or near a settlement, a dance was got up, if possible, which all the boatmen would attend, leaving the cook to watch the boat, and woe betide him if he was not found watching when they returned. Those inhabitants who shunned their acquaintance or did not receive them with a hearty welcome were sure to suffer for it either in person or property. Respectable families, therefore, who

could not join in their revels and participate in their excesses, were careful not to settle where they would be exposed to their visits. The families on or near the banks of the river accessible to the boatmen, were generally the hardest of characters.

As the use of the pole required a much greater exercise of the muscles of the body than the ordinary or perhaps any other manual labor, these men acquired incredible strength and hardiness, which they sought opportunities of displaying. Fist-fighting was their pastime. The man who boasted that he had never been whipped, had attained to a dangerous eminence among his fellows, and was bound to give fight to whoever disputed his superiority. The keel-boatmen regarded the flat-boatmen and raftsmen with great contempt, and declared perpetual war against them. Wherever they met, a battle would ensue. They had their laws, which were strictly observed. If the crew of a flat-boat or a raft were to be whipped, an equal number of keel-boatmen volunteered or were detailed for the service; and if they were worsted in the fight none interfered for their relief. They were great sticklers for fair play. They often committed great excesses in the villages where their voyages terminated, breaking furniture, demolishing bars and taverns, and pulling down fences, sheds, and signs. One of their favorite amusements was sweeping the streets in dark evenings. This was done with a long rope extended across the street; a party of men having hold of each end moved forward quickly, tripping up and capsizing whatever happened to be within the scope of the rope. Men, women and children, horses, carts and cattle were overturned. The mischief accomplished, the actors would retreat to their boats and conceal their rope, while those of their comrades who had not engaged in the sweep remained behind to enjoy the sport.

The branches of the Ohio, such as the Cumberland, the Kentucky, the Scioto, etc., could be ascended only in the spring and fall, in consequence of low water; the freighting on these rivers was therefore limited to a short period, and this brought many hundreds of the boatmen together.

These assemblages would sometimes set the civil authorities at defiance for days together. Their riotous and lawless conduct was carried to such a length that sober men began to regard them with apprehension, fearing that if their numbers increased with the increase of transportation on the western rivers, they would endanger the peace of the country. But intemperate, profane and riotous as they were, they had some redeeming qualities. They were trustworthy. Money uncounted was safe in their hands, and if freight was damaged by accident or carelessness, they never hesitated to make full compensation for the damage. Although they would not hesitate to rob a hen-roost, yet they would expose themselves to any fatigue to preserve a cargo from injury, and would not pilfer an article connected with their freight. They always espoused the cause of the weaker party, and would take up the quarrels of an old man whether he was right or wrong.

As they were scarcely ever sober, of course they were short-lived; but their ranks were easily recruited from the young men who had been brought up in the frontier settlements, many of whom had acquired a restless and lawless spirit, which made them unwilling to submit to the restraints of society and eager to associate in some exciting and perilous enterprise. The transportation by keel-boats, although expensive and tedious, was as much superior to horse-packing as steamboats are to keel-boats. In packing it required one man and five horses to transport half a ton, say 20 miles per day. With a keel-boat, ascending the river, each man could push forward from two to three tons in a favorable state of the water, with nearly the same speed as the packer. Everybody was satisfied with the keel-boat. No one expected or thought of a more expeditious mode of transportation. The whole business arrangements of the country were conformed to it, and but for the application of steam to navigation, "Mike Fink" (immortalized by Morgan Neville), would not have been the "last of the boatmen." They might have continued for centuries, blighting the moral destinies of millions. But the first steamboat that ascended the Ohio, sounded their death-knell.

IX.

LAND SPECULATIONS.

After tranquility had been restored to Western Pennsylvania, the state lost no time in surveying that portion of her territory which lay northwest of the Ohio and Allegheny rivers; but she adopted a plan for encouraging the settlement of these lands, which resulted in great injustice to the settlers, and gave rise to long, protracted and ruinous litigation. For a small sum, the Legislature granted to a number of rich speculators, associated under the style of the "Population Company," the right of locating a large portion of the country surveyed, extending from the Allegheny and Ohio rivers to the lake, and westward to the territorial (now Ohio) line. The company intended that their purchase should cover all the choice lands within these limits. It was conditioned in their grant, that by a given day the company should cause certain improvements to be made on each tract of 400 acres which they had selected. Among these improvements was the erection of a cabin, which should be tenanted by an able-bodied settler, who should continue to reside on said tract, and clear, fence and cultivate a certain portion of it.

The company expected that settlers would gladly embrace the opportunity of settling on their lands on receiving a clear deed of 150 or 200 acres, and that the half or more of each tract which they reserved to themselves, would sell for a high price when the country became well improved.

The Legislature, in order to effect the settlement of those parts of the surveyed territory which should not have been selected by the Population Company, passed an act granting 400 acres to every settler who should enter upon and improve the same within a specified time. It did not require great sagacity to prefer the terms offered by the state to those offered by the company. The settlement duties to be performed were the same, and when complied with the settler could, by paying a small sum to the state, have a deed of 400 acres; whereas those who settled under the company would have but 150, or at most 200 acres.

As the territory to be settled was contiguous to Pittsburgh, where necessities could be obtained, settlers flocked to it by companies, and all the good tracts, not located by the Population Company, were soon taken up.

Causes of difficulty and litigation commenced with the settlement. Two persons would often enter on the same lot, one claiming under the state and the other under the company, and neither would yield his claim. They either tested their rights by a fight on the spot, or resorted to litigation. Sometimes these collisions were owing to mistakes occasioned by the lines of lots located by the company not being sufficiently marked, and sometimes from a determination on the part of settlers under the state to secure the best lands by possession, and put the company at defiance. The company did not succeed as well as they expected in settling their lands. The law under which they claimed was unpopular, and many disregarded it. When the time allowed the company for settlement had expired, it was supposed that all their unsettled locations reverted to the state, and were fairly open to settlers. They were therefore taken up and improved.

But the company, who had taken the precaution to have a proviso in their first contract with the state, which granted them an extension of time if the settlement should be interrupted by Indian hostilities, alleged that their settlement had been thus interrupted, that some surveyor or settler had either been killed or his life endangered by Indians. The settlers denied this, alleging on their part that the company had hired some vagabonds to personify Indians and get up an alarm to enable them to effect their purpose. Settlers on the company's land were in some places maltreated, threatened with violence, and compelled to relinquish their contracts with the company and join the popular party.

The company resorted to law and brought suits in ejectment. Some of the settlers, relying on maintaining forcible possession, neglected the suits, and judgment was rendered against many by default. In some cases families were ousted in an inclement season of the year; but the settlers made common cause with the sufferers, contributed to their relief,

and restored them to their possessions. Suits were at first brought in the state court, but when these were defended, the company had little chance of a fair trial, as their cause was unpopular, and juries generally favored the settlers. The company at length resorted to the District Court of the United States, which was then held in Philadelphia. The settlers objected to the jurisdiction, but as some members of the company were citizens of other states the suits were sustained. This decision was fatal to the settlers, few of whom were able to fee foreign counsel, or even to attend court on court at Philadelphia, much less to send their witnesses there. But the company, composed of rich and influential individuals, and able to secure the best legal talent, as a matter of course succeeded. Many of the litigant settlers who had lost their suits, quit the country to avoid paying the costs; others, unable to purchase their farms, or disgusted with a country where they had spent so many years under the painful uncertainty of litigation, and believing themselves grievously oppressed, resolved to seek some other home. The territory was depopulated as rapidly as it had been settled. Whole neighborhoods were deserted, and the improved lands again became a forest.

Many of these emigrants found a home in New Connecticut, as the Western Reserve was then called. This district of country was surveyed and brought into market a short time after the Pennsylvania district adjoining it. On the Reserve there were no questionable titles—there was no land to be given away. The settler could not even obtain a contract without paying down some part of the purchase money. The hunting, trapping, ragged loafer found no resting-place there. The policy pursued by the State of Connecticut in bringing the Reserve into market, the low prices and liberal terms at which the land was sold, and the encouragement given to settlers by aiding them to open roads and erect public buildings, were eminently wise; and our country presents no better example of a heavy forest converted—in so short a time, and to so great an extent—into well-cultivated farms, occupied by intelligent, moral and enterprising people.

But rapid improvements in the West were not limited to

the Reserve. Every avenue to the great valley of the Ohio was thronged with emigrants from the East and the South. The Indians, having been forced to relinquish the hunting grounds which they had occupied for ages, withdrew to their reservations; and scarcely had the fires gone out in their deserted wigwams, before their places were occupied by the abodes of civilization and refinement.

X.

BEGINNING OF BUFFALO HARBOR.

The war which had swept over the Niagara frontier, had impoverished the inhabitants of the little place that has since grown into the City of the Lakes. Their property had been destroyed—they were embarrassed by debts contracted in rebuilding their houses which had been burned by the enemy; they were without capital to prosecute to advantage mechanical or mercantile employments; without a harbor, or any means of participating in the lake trade, and were suffering, with the country at large, all the evils of a deranged currency. In the midst of these accumulated embarrassments, the construction of the Erie Canal was begun, and promised help. However distant might be the time of its completion, Buffalo was to be its terminating point; and when the canal was completed, our village would become a city. But no craft larger than a canoe could enter Buffalo Creek. All forwarding business was done at Black Rock, and the three or four small vessels that were owned in Buffalo, received and discharged their cargoes at that place. A harbor was then indispensably necessary at the terminus of the canal; and unless one could be constructed at Buffalo before the western section of the canal was located, it might terminate at Black Rock. This was the more to be apprehended, as an opinion prevailed, that harbors could not be made on the lakes, at the mouths of the rivers. But a harbor we were resolved to have. Application was accordingly made to the Legislature for a survey of the creek, and

an act was passed on the 10th of April, 1818, authorizing the survey, and directing the supervisors of the county of Niagara to pay three dollars a day to the surveyor, and to assess the amount upon the county. The survey was made by the present Hon. William Peacock, during the summer of that year, gratuitously.* Then came the important question, where to get the money to build this harbor? At that day no one thought of looking to Congress for appropriations, and there was no encouragement to apply to the Legislature of the State. The citizens could not raise the means, however willing they might have been.

A public meeting was called, and an agent (the Hon. Charles Townsend) was appointed to proceed to Albany and obtain a loan. Jonas Harrison, Ebenezer Walden, H. B. Potter, J. G. Camp, O. Forward, A. H. Tracy, E. Johnson, E. F. Norton and Charles Townsend, were the applicants. Judge Townsend, after a protracted effort, succeeded, and

* Mr. Peacock's work stimulated the advocates of rival localities. In the *Albany Argus* of Feb. 19, 1819, appeared a communication, signed "Projector," in which a project for a city of "Erie" at the head of Grand Island is thus developed:

"There has lately been laid on the tables of the Legislature a report by William Peacock, Esq., on a plan and place of a harbor for the east end of Lake Erie. . . . In this harbor must meet all the numerous vessels of the upper lakes, and the almost countless boats of the Erie Canal. Above all things the harbor ought to be a capacious one. Buffalo Creek! Where two schooners can but just pass each other--this can never be the place.

"In the report of the Canal Commissioners of 1817, page 6, the expense of making the canal from Buffalo Creek for three miles (to wit, to the lower end of Black Rock rapids) is estimated at \$68,118, and in the same page a wall or mound in the river for one mile is put at between \$15,000 and \$16,000. But a wall of a mile in length, made parallel to the shore, having a lock of four feet lift at the lower end, will completely overcome the Black Rock rapid, and let the lake vessels into a harbor below, in every respect the very thing it ought to be--capacious as is the vast design for which it is wanted. Now where shall stand the city at which these lake vessels shall meet? The upper end of Grand Island is a beautiful, highly elevated, healthy situation. This island is the property of the state. The above work being done the lake vessels and canal boats may pass all around it. A bridge thrown over to the island, and the future city of ERIE, laid out there, the sum raised from the sale of lots in one year would defray all the expense of the mound, lock and bridge. The remainder of the island would be vastly enhanced in value, and the mill privileges near the lock would be worth half the cost of the mound."

This plan, which was by no means chimerical, was ridiculed, as was to be expected, by H. A. Salisbury in his *Niagara Patriot*; and no doubt by all other residents of Buffalo, zealously loyal to their own local interests.

an act was passed, April 17th, 1819, authorizing a loan to the above-mentioned persons and their associates, of \$12,000, for 12 years, to be secured on bond and mortgage to double that amount, and applied to the construction of a harbor, which the State had reserved the right to take when completed, and to cancel the securities.

The year 1819 was one of general financial embarrassment, and nowhere was the pressure or want of money more sensibly felt than in the lake country. It had no market, and its produce was of little value. Some of the associates became embarrassed and others discouraged. The summer passed away, and finally all refused to execute the required securities, except Judge Townsend and Judge Forward. Thus matters stood in December, 1819. Unless the condition of the loan should be complied with, the appropriation would be lost, and another might not easily be obtained; for the project of a harbor at Black Rock, and the termination of the canal at that place, were advocated by influential men, and the practicability of making a harbor at the mouth of Buffalo Creek was seriously questioned.

At this crisis Judge Wilkeson, who had declined being on the original company, came forward, and with Messrs. Townsend and Forward, agreed to make the necessary security. This was perfected during the winter of 1820—each individual giving his several bond and mortgage for \$8,000. The money thus loaned was received in the spring. By an arrangement between the parties, it was to be disbursed by Judge Townsend. An experienced harbor-builder was to be obtained to superintend the work. One was engaged who had acquired reputation in improving the navigation of some river down East. He was to receive \$50 per month. Under his advice a contract was made for 100 cords of flint stone from the Plains, at \$5 per cord, and 400 hemlock piles, from 20 to 26 feet long, at 31 cents each. While the stone and piles were being delivered, the superintendent, with several carpenters, was employed in building a pile-driving machine and scow. An agent was dispatched to the nearest furnace (which was in Portage County, Ohio), to provide the hammer and machinery.

Mr. Townsend with much solicitude continued to watch the movements of the superintendent for a few weeks, making himself fully acquainted with his plans and management. He became satisfied that the superintendent, if not incompetent, was not such an economist as our limited means required, and that if we retained him, the money would be spent without getting a harbor. The Judge was decided, that it was better to abandon the work than to pursue it under the then existing arrangements. His associates concurring, the superintendent was discharged—but no substitute could be obtained. West Point engineers were scarce at that time, and if one could have been found, \$12,000 would have been but a small sum in his hands. The situation of the company was embarrassing. Private property had been mortgaged to raise the money—nearly \$1,000 of it had been spent, in preparations to commence a work that neither of the associates knew how to execute, nor could any one be found, experienced in managing men, who would undertake the superintendence. Mr. Townsend was an invalid and consequently unable to perform the duty. Mr. Forward was wanting in the practical experience that was necessary.

Mr. Wilkeson had never seen a harbor, and was engaged in business that required his unremitted attention. But rather than the effort should be abandoned, he finally consented to undertake the superintendence, and proceeded immediately to mark out a spot for the erection of a shanty on the beach, between the creek and the lake; hired a few laborers, gave the necessary orders for lumber, cooking utensils and provisions. The boarding-house and sleeping-room were completed that same day.

XI.

THE FIRST SEASON'S WORK.

Having abandoned his own private business, Mr. Wilkeson called his men out to work the next morning by day-

light—without suitable tools, without boats, teams or scows. Neither the plan of the work nor its precise location were settled. But the harbor was commenced.*

Two plans had been proposed for the work: one by driving parallel lines of piles, and filling up the intermediate space with brush and stone; and the other by a pier of hewn timber, filled with stone. The latter plan was adopted, and the location of the pier having been settled, the number of laborers was increased, and contracts immediately made for suitable timber and stone, to be delivered as fast as they might be required. In the meantime the timber intended for piles, was used in the construction of cribs, three of which were put down the first day.

The first two days after commencing the work, the lake was calm; but the succeeding night a heavy swell set in, and the waves acting on the outside of the cribs forced the sand and gravel from under them, sinking the ends of some, the sides of others and throwing them out of line, the whole presenting the most discouraging appearance. Fortunately a little brush had been accidentally thrown on the windward side of one of the piers, which became covered with sand, and preserved this pier from the fate of others. Profiting by this discovery, every crib subsequently put down was placed on a thick bed of brush, extending several feet to the windward of it.

But other unforeseen difficulties were soon experienced. The cribs could be put down only when the lake was perfectly smooth. However fine the weather, the swell raised by an ordinary sailing breeze suspended the work in the water. To obviate this difficulty, the cribs (which after the first week were formed of large square timber), were put up and completed on shore. The timbers were secured by ties six feet apart, made to fit so tight as to require to be driven

* The exact date is not stated. Judge Wilkeson's narrative shows it to have been some time prior to May 20th, 1820. The earliest step towards opening the mouth of Buffalo Creek appears to have been a meeting held at Pomeroy's tavern, Nov. 15, 1816, but no immediate work seems to have been done. Until Judge Wilkeson and his associates opened the channel, sailing vessels, unless of very light draft, had to lie half a mile or more off the port, or drop down below the Black Rock rapids to find anchorage.

home with a sledge, and were bored with a two-inch auger ready for the trunnels, which were two feet long, and made of the best oak or hickory. The timbers were marked and numbered, so that when required for use, they could be taken apart, floated out to their place, and put together in an hour, even in ten feet of water, and secured with stone the same day.

The manner of constructing the pier is thus particularly described, as it so effectually secured the timbers together, that when the west end of the pier was undermined by the high winds of the creek and turned over, so that the side became the top, not a stick was separated. After the prevalence of a west wind for several days, the water became smooth, but it rained severely and the workmen justly claimed exemption from labor. To be interrupted by swells in fair weather, and by the rain when the lake was smooth, would never answer. Every day's experience admonished the company of the necessity of economizing their means, and it was already feared that the funds provided would prove insufficient for the object to be accomplished. A new contract was, therefore, made with the workmen, by which their wages were raised \$2 a month, in consideration of their working in rainy days; and from that time until the harbor was completed, the work was prosecuted without regard to the weather. This arrangement however, did not much increase the exposure either of the men engaged on the work or of those employed in delivering stone, which was principally obtained on the reefs under water. In loading the scows with brush on the beach of the lake, and in moving timbers from the beach to the pier, the men were forced to be in the water, in order to perform their work in the least possible time.

Neither clerk nor other assistant, not even a carpenter to lay out the work, was employed for the first two months, to aid the superintendent; who besides directing all the labor, making contracts, receiving materials, etc., labored in the water with the men, as much exposed as themselves, and conformed to the rules prescribed to them of commencing work at daylight, and continuing until dark, allowing half

an hour for breakfast, and an hour for dinner. Besides the labors of the day, he was often detained until late at night waiting the arrival of boats, to measure their loads of stone, and to see them delivered in the pier, as without this vigilance some of the boatmen would unload their stone into the lake, which was easier than to deposit it in the pier.

After the pier was extended about 30 rods into the lake, and settled as well as the limited time would allow, a carpenter was employed at \$1 per day to superintend the raising of the pier, from the surface of the water to its full height. This was done by securing the timber in the manner already described. As the work advanced into deep water, the bases of the cribs were enlarged, and the cost of the work alarmingly increased. It was resolved to suspend operations for that year, on reaching seven and a half feet of water.

On the 7th of September, after the timber work was completed, and while the pier was but partially filled with stone, two small vessels came under its lee, and made fast. Towards evening, appearances indicated a storm, and while the superintendent and captains were deliberating whether the vessels might not endanger the pier, and perhaps carry away that part to which they were fastened, the gale commenced, rendering it impossible to remove the vessels otherwise than by casting them loose, and letting them go on the beach. This was proposed by the superintendent, and agreed to by the captains, on condition that the safety of the pier should appear to be endangered by the vessels. Both the pier and the vessels, however, remained uninjured through the storm, which was regarded as no mean test of the utility and permanency of the works. The pier, which at this time extended 50 rods into the lake, was in a few days filled with stone, and the operations upon it suspended for the season.

It may not be out of place here to name the captains of the two first vessels which found shelter in Buffalo harbor: Austin and Fox. The former was an old Point Judith fisherman, who after spending most of his life on the ocean, removed to the Vermilion River and settled on a farm; but yielding to his yearning for the water, he built a small vessel, of which he was captain, and his sons the crew, and engaged

in the lake trade. He was a shrewd, observing man, had seen and examined many artificial harbors, and his advice contributed much to the correct location and permanent construction of Buffalo harbor. Fox, long known as a successful captain on the lakes, took a deep interest in the construction of the work, and during the three years that it was in progress, frequently aided by volunteering his own labor and that of his crews. Trifling as this circumstance may appear, it gave at the time no small encouragement, and has been gratefully remembered.

XII.

PROGRESS—AND CATASTROPHE.

Although the pier had been successfully extended 900 feet, and was believed to be sufficiently strong to resist the force of the waves, still it was but an experiment. The situation was the most exposed on the lake, and no similar work had been constructed. Should the whole, or any considerable part of the work be destroyed by the gales of wind, or by ice, the fund remaining would be insufficient to repair the damage, and extend the work to the requisite distance to make a harbor. Should the experiment on the pier prove never so successful, a most difficult part of the plan for forming a harbor was yet to be executed, and the more difficult because the expense would depend on contingencies which the company could not control.

Buffalo Creek, in 1820, entered the lake about 60 rods north of its present mouth, running for some distance nearly parallel with the shore. A new channel had to be made across the point of sand, which separates the creek from the lake. This point was about 20 rods wide, and elevated about seven feet above the lake. It was proposed to remove the sand by scrapers to the level of low water, dam the mouth of the creek by brush and stone, and trust to the action of a

spring flood to form a straight channel in a line with, and near to, the pier. The scraping was commenced in November, by the voluntary labor of several of the citizens; but instead of finding the point composed of fine sand, as had been expected, when a few feet of the top was removed, a heavy compact body of coarse gravel and small stones was found, which, if removed by the current of the creek, instead of being carried into deep water in the lake, would be deposited to the leeward of the pier, in the place our channel must be, and whence there was neither money nor machinery to remove it. The scraping was therefore given up, and the subject of forming a new channel, proving a very serious one, laid over for further consideration, in the expectation that some plan could be devised to overcome the seemingly insurmountable difficulty.

The company had the satisfaction to see the fall gales pass away without doing any damage to the pier, not even removing a single timber, and it was loaded with so great a body of ice, that no apprehension was entertained of damage from the breaking up of the lake in the spring. Favorable contracts were made during the winter for square timber, and ties to complete the pier; and as it was sufficiently extended to protect the pile-driving scow, and as the use of this machine would be important in farther prosecuting the work, it was determined to finish it. A hammer and gearing, however, were wanting. These had been contracted for in Ohio, but, owing to a misunderstanding, had not been received. The iron gearing could be dispensed with, and a good substitute for a hammer was found in a United States mortar, used during the last war, but which had lost one of its trunnions. After breaking off the other, two holes were bored through the end for the staple by which to hoist it. The ends of the staple projecting into the chamber were bent, and the chamber itself filled with metal. Similar holes were bored on each side, and two bars of iron between two and three inches square firmly secured to act as guides. The hollow part being filled with a hard piece of wood, cut off even with the end, it proved to be an excellent hammer of about 2,000 pounds weight. The machinery to raise the

hammer was of the cheapest and simplest kind, and worked by a single horse.*

Before attempting the further extension of the pier, it was resolved to attempt the formation of the new channel. About the 20th of May, laborers were engaged, and the pile-driver put in operation. Two rows of piles six feet apart were driven across the creek, in a line with the right bank of the intended channel, and the space between these rows of piles was filled with fine brush, straw, damaged hay, shavings, etc. This material was pressed down by drift logs, which were hoisted into their places by the use of the pile-driver. On the upper side of the work, a body of sand was placed, making a cheap and tolerably tight dam, by which the creek could be raised about three feet. Then by breaking the bank at the west end of the dam, a current was formed sufficiently strong to remove about 15 feet of the adjoining bank to the depth of eight feet. The success of the first experiment was most gratifying. The dam was extended across the new-made channel, and connected with the bank, with the least possible delay, and every dam full of water let off removed hundreds of yards of gravel, and deposited it not only entirely out of the way, but at the same time filled up the old channel.

While this plan was in successful operation, and when the new channel had been pushed to within a few feet of the lake, and the strongest hopes were entertained, that by the same process the sand and gravel even under the shoal water of the lake could be removed, and the channel extended to the end of the pier, and the harbor rendered immediately available, the work was arrested by one of the most extraordinary rises of the lake perhaps ever witnessed. About seven o'clock in the morning, the lake being entirely calm, the water suddenly rose, and by a single swell swept away the logs that secured the materials in the dam, broke away

* This old mortar, which for many years stood in the sidewalk at the corner of Main and Dayton streets, was long owned by A. P. Yaw, and later by George R. Potter, from whose family it passed into the custody of the Buffalo Historical Society, which placed it, suitably inscribed, in Lafayette Square, facing the Public Library, where it may now be seen, one of the city's most interesting relics.

the dam on the east side, wholly destroyed the west end which was made of plank, and left the whole a total wreck.

A more discouraging scene can scarcely be imagined. The pile-driving scow, without which the damage could not be repaired, narrowly escaped destruction. The blind horse which worked the pile-driver, was thrown from his platform on the scow, and swimming in his accustomed circle, came near drowning. All the lumber, timber, piles prepared for use, with the boats, scows, and every floating article within the range of the swell, were swept from their places and driven up the creek. It was afterwards ascertained that an extraordinary vein of wind had crossed the lake a few miles above this place, and proceeding eastward, prostrated the timber in its course, and marked its way with fearful destruction. This was supposed to have caused the swell referred to.

XIII.

NATURE HELPS MAKE A NEW CHANNEL.

After securing the scows, boats and lumber which had been put afloat, the condition of the dam was examined. About 30 feet of the east end was entirely gone, and the injury to other parts was greater than was at first anticipated. Before the examination was completed a northeast wind commenced blowing, accompanied by a heavy rain, and appearances indicated its continuance. Although a flood had been wished for, to aid in deepening and widening the new channel, yet the disastrous accident which had just occurred, destroyed the only means of controlling it, and turning it to account. A freshet then, might open the old channel, or perhaps enlarge the new one in a wrong direction, and even undermine the pier. It was, therefore, resolved to repair the damage if possible. The pile-driver was put in operation to restore the breach at the east end of the dam, and the men set to work to collect materials; but the rain increasing, and the weather being uncommonly cold, it was soon dis-

covered that without a large additional force the dam could not be so far repaired as to resist the flood, which might be expected within 24 hours. The recent disaster and the importance of immediate help was communicated to the citizens, a large number of whom, notwithstanding the rain fell in torrents, repaired to the dam. They were distributed in parties, some getting brush, others collecting logs, some placing the materials in the dam, while others aided in working the pile-driver. Their labor was continued during the day except a few minutes' relaxation for dinner, which consisted of bread and beer, and was taken standing in the rain. Without this help of the citizens, it would have been impossible to make the necessary repairs on the dam; with it and by continuing the labor of the harbor workmen by torchlight until late at night, all was done that human effort could do to prepare for the flood. The men retired to rest, after having been exposed to the rain, cold and water, for more than 12 hours. Besides securing the dam, a few piles had been driven in the lake across the line of the proposed channel in about five feet of water, against which several large sycamore logs were secured by chains, and loaded with stone. This was done with the view of protecting the pier, and turning the current, and with it the sand and gravel, down the lake out of the way of the harbor.

The rain having continued through the night, in the morning the flood was magnificent. The strong northeast wind which had prevailed for nearly 24 hours had lowered the lake two or three feet, and added much to the effect of the water in forming a new channel. The barrier erected had produced the desired effect; the gravel removed out of the new channel was carried down the lake, and in fact the whole operation was so favorable, that it seemed as though Providence had directed this flood in aid of the great work in forming a harbor. The breaking up of the dam had disheartened the men, and their extraordinary efforts to repair the damage had exhausted them; but a day's rest, and witnessing the triumphant success of the plan for opening a channel, restored them to cheerfulness. The doubts and fears that were entertained of ultimate success in making a

harbor, were dissipated. When the freshet had subsided, it was found that the average width of the new channel was about 90 feet at the bottom, and for the first 12 rods it was as deep as the creek, and nowhere less than five feet, furnishing a straight channel. The quantity of sand and gravel that had been removed by the agency of the water in 24 hours, was nearly or quite 20,000 yards, to remove which by artificial means would have required a greater amount of money than all the harbor fund.

From this time, small vessels could enter and depart from Buffalo harbor without interruption, and the entry of two or three small vessels in a day, excited more interest then, than the arrival of a hundred large vessels and boats would now.

Much yet remained to be done. The lines of piles in extension of a dam were continued, and filled up with brush and stone, intended to form a permanent margin for the north bank of Buffalo Creek. This work was extended 46 rods from the east bank of the creek, the dam was strengthened, the number of men increased, and the preparations made for recommencing the pier. On a careful examination and measurement of the water, it was found that the pier, if extended in the direction of that already built, would require to be carried much further than had been anticipated. The calculation of the company as to the length of the pier, had been predicated on the survey of Mr. Peacock, and the fact was not known to them, that the water had fallen after the time that survey was made. This discovery was the more embarrassing, as the company had become satisfied that they would be unable with the fund provided, to complete the pier, even to the extent at first contemplated, and it had been resolved to apply to the citizens for aid, which was subsequently done. Scrip was issued, entitling the bearer to a pro rata interest in the harbor. Over \$1,000 of this scrip was disposed of, for a small part of which cash was received, but the greater part was received in goods, etc. However small this sum may appear at this day, it was then deemed very liberal, and it gave Judge Townsend, who

negotiated this matter, no little trouble to raise even that amount.

For the sums thus advanced, no consideration was ever received by the holders of this scrip, and perhaps some of them, to whom no explanation has been made, may have felt themselves aggrieved. For the satisfaction of such, it may be well here to state how this business was closed. The act of the Legislature creating the Buffalo Harbor Company, and making the loan, provided that if the Legislature did not accept the harbor, it should be, and remain, the property of the company, and that the Canal Commissioners should settle the rate of tolls to be paid by all boats and vessels entering it. The issue of the scrip was predicated on this provision; and it was believed that if the state accepted the harbor, they would willingly pay the extra cost of its construction, over and above the loan of the \$12,000 (which was to be cancelled). This no doubt would have been done but for the provision of a law passed in the spring of 1822, entitled "An act for encouraging the construction of harbors at Buffalo and Black Rock." This act provided to pay the two harbor companies, Buffalo and Black Rock, each \$12,000 on completing their harbors, thus limiting the sum to the amount already loaned to the Buffalo Harbor Company, and cutting off all hope of remuneration from the state, for any amount that might be expended beyond that sum.

The object to be attained by this singular law, is connected with the history of another subject, which may yet be given to the public, and which will disclose the reason why the Canal Commissioners declined to accept the harbor for the state. The company could not retain the harbor as private property, and impose tolls on vessels entering it, without driving the business to a rival port. Application was, therefore, made in the spring of 1825 to the Legislature, which passed a resolution to cancel the bonds and mortgages given to secure the loan, but refused to allow the claim for the additional sum expended; which sum included not only the money received for the scrip, but several hundred dollars advanced by Townsend, Forward and Wilkeson, besides contributions by other individuals.

XIV.

THE FIRST LAKE HARBOR—TWO CHARACTERS.

After ascertaining the distance to which it would be necessary to extend the pier, and estimating the cost of completing it, the continuous line was abandoned, and it was resolved to lay down a pier 200 feet long, several rods south and west of the pier already built, but in the same direction. This pier would form the western termination of the harbor, and was to be connected with the other by two lines of piles eight feet apart. As these lines of piles would be at right angles with the course of the waves, it was believed the work would be sufficiently permanent, and would furnish a good and cheap substitute for a pier. Both pile-driving and pier work were commenced, and prosecuted with a vigor and economy suited to the scanty funds of the company.

It was found much more difficult to erect piers in 10 or 12 feet of water, than in the more shallow water in which they were put down the preceding year. In attempting to put down the first crib which was to form the eastern end of the block, in about 10 feet of water, the current was found so strong that it was impossible to keep the brush in line on which to place the crib. To obviate this difficulty, piles were driven 10 feet apart on the north line of the proposed pier. This not only secured the brush, but served as a guide in putting down the cribs, which for this block were 40 feet long, 20 feet wide at the bottom, and 18 at the surface of the water. In addition to the plan adopted for strengthening the cribs the preceding year, braces of oak timber, three by six inches, and extending from the bottom to the top of the crib, were let into the timbers composing the windward side of each crib, and secured by spikes, as the crib was put down. The quantity of brush was also increased. Two large scow loads were used as a bed for each crib. These, besides securing the crib from being undermined, aided by their elasticity in resisting the force of the swells.

A slight rise in the creek about the middle of July, encouraged a hope that by a temporary contraction of the

channel, it might be deepened. About 50 of the citizens volunteered their aid for a day, and a foot of additional depth was gained.

One difficulty attending the pier work was that of procuring a supply of stone. About 20 cords were required for each crib, but little of which could be put in until the crib was all put together, and this quantity could not always be obtained at the time it was wanted. The loose stone easily raised from the reefs near the harbor, had already been used, and now stone had to be brought from the Canada shore. Boats were scarce, the price paid for stone was so low (only about \$3 per cord), and the quantity required so small, that there was no encouragement to build suitable boats, and those used were the frailest kind, and liable every day to fail.

The pile work proved to be a tedious and difficult job. An average of 100 strokes of the hammer were required for each pile. The interruption from the swells made it necessary to work at night during calm weather. The pile work was at length completed, but when secured in the best manner that could be devised, was a very imperfect barrier to the swell, and a very poor substitute for a pier. The swells during gales of wind had removed some of the stones out of the first pier; these were recovered, the pier filled up, and covered by ties six inches apart let into the top timbers, and secured by trunnels. The outer pier was also filled with some stone and covered in the same way, and 50 cords of stone were deposited on the windward side for its greater security.

Thus was completed the first work of the kind ever constructed on the lakes. It had occupied 221 working days in building. (the laborers always resting on the Sabbath), and extended into the lake about 80 rods to 12 feet of water. It was begun, carried on and completed principally by three private individuals, some of whom mortgaged the whole of their real estate to raise the means for making an improvement in which they had but a common interest. And now, although but 20 years have elapsed, these sacrifices and efforts, and even the fact that such a work ever existed, are

unknown to most of the citizens of Buffalo, who have only seen the magnificent stone pier erected at a cost of over \$200,000. But should the names of those who projected and constructed the first pier be remembered, for a few years, yet the subordinate actors by whose faithful labors the drudgery of this work was accomplished, must remain unknown even to those who enjoy the immediate fruits of their labor in wealth and luxury. Their names would be inserted here, but that the time-book being kept with pencil, and having been frequently wet, has become in part illegible. Simon and Clark Burdock and Charles Ayres, deserve special notice, and should either of these men, or any of the others engaged on the work, wish to take passage on the lake, it is hoped that any steamboat captain hailing from Buffalo, would give them a free passage. There is a debt of gratitude due to the laborers on Buffalo harbor for their extraordinary faithfulness. They were all farmers, or sons of farmers from the adjoining country, whose necessity for money brought them from their homes. Some of them engaged at the commencement of the work, and were never absent from it a day until it was finished; and such were their steady habits, that but one case of intoxication occurred, and not a single instance in which a jar or misunderstanding proceeded to blows. The laborers either individually or as a company never shrunk from exposure, nor hesitated to turn out at night when required, and their work was performed with such faithfulness that not a single timber was lost from the pier.

The company were equally fortunate in their boatmen. The two stone contractors contributed much to the successful prosecution and completion of the harbor, often running their boats at night when stone was required; and in more than one instance, their extraordinary exertions preserved portions of the work from destruction, and saved the company from great loss. Sloan and Olmstead were the names of these hard-weather men—and those only who have experienced the difficulties of making improvements in a new country, with means and facilities wholly inadequate to the

object to be accomplished, can justly appreciate the worth of such men.

James Sloan was first known as a salt boatman on Niagara River in 1807 or '8* ; was a hand on board the boat Independence, and had only left her the day before she, with all on board, was carried over the Niagara falls.† He was a lake boatman until some time after the commencement of the war. He volunteered in various hazardous expeditions ; was one of the party who cut out the brig Adams at Fort Erie. He commanded the ammunition boat during the siege of that fort, and had several marvelous escapes from shot and rockets. After the war he removed to the West, but returned shortly before the commencement of the Buffalo harbor, and took as deep interest in the progress of the work as if it had been his own private business. He has been rich and poor several times, and has endured more fatigue and performed more labor than most men of his age. Few persons know so much of men and things generally as he does, and no one is more liberal, benevolent and honest.

N. K. Olmstead, though quite a different character from Sloan, was a man of unusual muscular power and remarkable courage and resolution. He was a citizen of Buffalo before the war. His property had been burnt by the British, and when peace was concluded between the two Governments, not considering himself a party to the treaty, he determined to make reprisals. In pursuance of this determination, he soon managed to get a contract to transport, from Chippewa to Fort Erie, British army stores, among which were several kegs of specie. He brought his load to the American side of the river, and hid the goods and money, waiting a favorable opportunity to remove them. The boatmen stole a part, and the vigilance of the officers who made pursuit recovered most of the balance. Olmstead retired from the frontier for a time, but in 1819 returned to Buffalo. When the harbor was commenced, he engaged as a stone-

* Certainly not prior to 1808, and apparently not before 1810. See Capt. Sloan's own reminiscences, in this volume.

† In 1810. In crossing to Chippewa with a load of salt, she filled and sunk, her captain and two of the crew being carried over the falls. A third man clung to an oar and was rescued by a small boat from Chippewa.

boatman, and in the varied and severe labor required upon the work, perhaps no man in the country could have equaled him. After stones became scarce upon the reef, all the other boats resorted to the Canada shore, where they were abundant.

Olmstead soon ventured to go over. The first few trips he carried a loaded pistol and a fish spear, but not being molested his apprehensions ceased. He was admonished not to risk himself, but he continued his trips, and perhaps would not have been noticed but for his resisting a demand made by the deputy collector for a clearance fee of 50 cents each load. Soon afterwards he was seized and hurried on board a large boat, which immediately put out for Chippewa. It was not deemed necessary to confine him. There was a small skiff in tow with a paddle in it. Olmstead resolved to possess himself of it, and make for the American shore, resolved to risk going over the falls rather than remain a prisoner. When taken he had concealed his jack-knife in his shoe, which he got ready for use, and when the boat was near Chippewa sprang on board the skiff, cut the fast, and pushed his skiff into the current. Using his paddle, he directed his course to the American shore. By extraordinary efforts he made one of the Grass islands, where he rested, got out of the skiff and towed it up the river as fast as he could wade, expecting that a boat would put out from the American side for his relief; but none appearing, and discovering one putting out from the Chippewa side in pursuit, he took to his skiff, and succeeded in landing in Porter's mill-race, at the falls. The next morning he resumed his work upon the harbor, to the no small gratification of the workmen, with all of whom he was a great favorite.

XV.

ANOTHER CRISIS.

The pier was completed, and the creek carried by a new and straight, although shallow, channel into the lake. The

fact that the pier built in 1820 had endured the storms of one winter uninjured, encouraged the company to believe that the outer pier, although more exposed, would, by being better secured, prove strong enough to resist the swells, and in future protect the channel from the moving sands which had yearly barred it up.

It was expected that the spring freshet would so widen and deepen the channel as to permit the lake vessels and even the Walk-in-the-Water (the only steamboat on the lake), to enter safely. This boat had been built at Black Rock, and run to that place, not ever touching at Buffalo; and the very prospect of having a steamboat arrive and depart from Buffalo, was highly encouraging. But while anticipating these benefits, the Walk-in-the-Water was driven on shore a short distance above Buffalo, while on her last trip, in 1821, and bilged. The engine, boilers and furniture were saved, and there was no doubt that the steamboat company would build a new boat, as they had purchased from Fulton's heirs the right to navigate by steam that portion of Lake Erie lying within the state, which right was then deemed valid. The citizens of Buffalo, without loss of time, addressed the directors of the company, presenting the advantages that would accrue to them by building their boat at Buffalo. The company, immediately on learning of their loss, made a contract with Noah Brown & Brothers, of New York, to build a boat at Buffalo, if it could be constructed as cheaply there as at the Rock, and if there could be certainty of getting the boat out of the creek.

Brown came on early in January, passing on to Black Rock without even reporting himself in Buffalo, nor was his arrival known here until he had agreed to build his boat at the Rock, and engaged the ship-carpenters of that place to furnish the timber. The Black Rock contractors, gratified with their success, agreed to accommodate Brown by meeting him at the Mansion House in Buffalo in the evening to execute the contract, which was to be drawn by an attorney in Buffalo, an acquaintance of Brown's. The gentlemen with their securities were punctual in their attendance.

As soon as it was known in Buffalo that the boat was

to be built at the Rock, the citizens assembled in the bar-room of the Mansion House, and after spending a few minutes in giving vent to their indignation, it was resolved to have an immediate interview with Brown (who was in his parlor), and know why Buffalo had been thus slighted. Perhaps he might yet be induced to change his mind, if the contract were not already signed.

The landlord undertook to ascertain this fact and reported that it was not yet executed. A delegate to wait on Brown was chosen with little ceremony—there was no time to give specific instructions. "Get the boat built here, and we will be bound by your agreement." The delegate had never seen Brown, and on entering his parlor, had to introduce himself. This done he proceeded:

"Mr. Brown, why do you not build your boat at Buffalo, pursuant to the wishes of the company?"

"Why, sir, I arrived in your village while your people were sleeping, and being obliged to limit my stay here to one day, I thought to improve the early part of the morning by commencing my inquiries at Black Rock, and consulting the ship-carpenters residing there, who had aided in building the Walk-in-the-Water. While there I was told that your harbor is all a humbug, and that if I were to build the boat in Buffalo Creek, she could not be got into the lake in the spring, and perhaps never. Besides, the carpenters refused to deliver the timber at Buffalo. Considering the question of where the boat should be built as settled, I proceeded to contract for timber to be delivered, and shall commence building the boat immediately at the Rock."

"Mr. Brown, our neighbors have done us great injury, *although* they, no doubt, honestly believe what they have *said* to you about our harbor. Under the circumstances, I *feel* justified in making you a proposition, which will enable *you* to comply with the wishes of the steamboat company, and do justice to Buffalo, without exposing yourself to loss or blame. The citizens of Buffalo will deliver suitable timber at a quarter less than it will cost you at the Rock, and execute a judgment bond to pay to the steamboat company

\$150 for every day's detention of the boat in the creek after the first of May."

"I accept the proposition. When will the papers be made out?"

"To-morrow morning. And if you wish it, a satisfactory sum of money shall now be placed in your hands, to be forfeited if the contract and bond are not executed."

"This, sir, I do not require. I shall leave at 10 o'clock this evening, and my friend Moulton will prepare the necessary papers and see them executed."

The judgment bond was signed by nearly all the responsible citizens, and the contract for the timber taken by Wm. A. Carpenter, at the reduced price agreed on. To comply with this contract both as to time and the quality of timber, required no little energy and good management, but the contractor executed it to the satisfaction of all concerned.

Buffalo having completed a harbor, and established a ship-yard, began to assume new life. Brighter prospects opened, and it only remained to secure the termination of the canal at this place, of which there was a fair prospect. David Thomas, an engineer, in the employ of the Canal Board, had been occupied the preceding summer in making surveys preparatory to a location of the canal from the lake to the mountain ridge. He had spent some time in examining the Niagara River, and Buffalo Creek and harbor. He was known to be opposed to the plan of terminating the canal in an artificial basin at the Rock, and it was presumed that he would report decidedly in favor of terminating the canal in Buffalo Creek. This encouraged the citizens to send an agent to Albany to represent to the president of the Canal Board, DeWitt Clinton, the fact that a harbor had been completed, and to urge the immediate extension of the canal to Buffalo. This subject was considered by the board, and the canal report of that year, 1823, contained their decision in favor of Buffalo.

Although this decision was not unexpected, yet it occasioned great rejoicing to the citizens, who, burnt out and impoverished by the war, and disappointed in their just expectations of remuneration from the Government, had for

years been battling manfully with adversity, cheered on by hopes which were now about to be realized.

While congratulating themselves on the prospect of still better times, the expected flood came, and removing a large body of sand and gravel, opened a wide and deep channel from the creek to the lake. But unfortunately a heavy bank of ice resting on the bottom of the lake, and rising several feet above its surface, had been formed during the winter, extending from the west end of the pier to the shore. This ice-bank arrested the current of the creek, forming an eddy alongside of the pier, into which the sand and gravel removed by the flood were deposited, filling up the channel for the distance of over 300 feet, and leaving a little more than three feet of water where, before the freshet, there was an average of four and a half feet. This disaster was more vexatious, as it might have been prevented by a few hours of well-directed labor in opening even a small passage through the bank of ice. It was attempted to open a channel through the ice by blasting, but this proving ineffectual, no other means were tried, and it was now feared that the predictions of our Black Rock neighbors were about to be realized.

This obstruction of the harbor produced not only discouragement but consternation. A judgment bond had been executed, which was a lien upon a large portion of the real estate of the village for the payment of \$150 per day, from and after the 1st of May, until the channel could be sufficiently opened to let the steamboat pass into the lake. The payment of this sum, which for the summer would amount to at least \$24,000, could only be avoided by removing the deposit. To form a channel even eight rods wide and nine feet deep would require the removal of not less than 6,000 yards of gravel, for which work there was neither an excavator, nor time, skill or money to procure one. The superintendent of the harbor was absent. As soon as the news of the disaster reached him he hastened home, and arriving about the middle of March, a meeting of the citizens concerned was called. It was resolved immediately to attempt the opening of the channel, and a subscription was

proposed to defray the expense which was estimated at \$1,600. The subscription went heavily; only about \$300 were obtained. Although all were deeply interested, some believed that the duty of removing the obstruction devolved on the harbor company, others had no confidence in the plan of operations proposed, and with many who would cheerfully have contributed, it was difficult to raise money. But without waiting to see how the means was to be provided, preparations were made for commencing the work next morning.

XVI.

FRUITION—AND AN EXCURSION.

About 25 laborers were immediately collected, the pile-driver prepared for use, and a line of piles driven, 200 feet from the pier, on the north side of that part of the channel which was obstructed. Two harbor-scows were made fast to these piles, and a platform of timber and plank extended over them. Four capstans were set up in these scows about 20 feet apart, and each rising a sufficient distance above the platform to receive four bars, eight feet long. While this was in preparation, scrapers were formed of a single oak plank, eight feet long and 20 inches wide, the lower edge bevelled and faced with a thin bar of iron. They were finished like the common scrapers used by the farmers in improving and smoothing the roads, with the addition of iron braces, and a rod of iron through the scraper near the lower edge, which passed through the pole or scantling by which it was drawn. On the upper end of the brace was a screw to regulate the scraper, which was loaded with iron to sink it, and connected by a strong rope with the windlass. A rope attached to the back part of the scraper, and extending to the pier, completed the simple machinery with which it was proposed to remove the gravel. Two men stationed on the pier could, by the small ropes, pull back the four scrapers as fast as they could be drawn home by the men at the four windlasses, each of which was worked by four men at the

levers, and one to handle the rope. The men could work dry, but the labor was excessively exhausting. The experiment succeeded admirably, and other capstans were prepared for use. The weather the first three days proved favorable, and the heavy unbroken body of ice which covered the lake, prevented all interruptions from the waves. The progress made in removing the sand was most encouraging, and there appeared no doubt that by increasing the scrapers the channel could be opened before the 1st of May. But to effect this the work must be continued every working day without regard to the weather. Piles were put down, and a raft of timber substituted for scows on which to erect more capstans. Saturday night came and the workmen were dismissed until Monday morning. During the night a heavy gale set in, and increased in violence until about noon on the Sabbath when the ice began to break up, and the lake to rise. Soon the ice was in motion, and driving in from the lake, was carried up the creek with such force as to destroy the scows and all the fixtures. The pile-driver, being securely fastened by strong rigging to the piles, it was hoped would remain safe, but the fasts gave way, and it was driving towards shore where it could scarcely escape destruction. As the breaking up of the ice would make it impossible to work the capstan on rafts, put *in motion* by the swell to which they would be exposed, *scaffolds* raised out of the way of the water must be *substituted*, and these could not possibly be built without piles. It was, therefore, all-important to save the pile-driver. It was saved by the extraordinary exertions of two individuals *who* (making their way to it by the aid of two boards each, *which* they pushed forward alternately over the floating ice *agitated* by the swells), succeeded in fastening it with a *hawser* to a pile near which it was floating. This was not *done* without imminent hazard to the men, who, several *times* losing their position on the board, came near being *crushed* by the moving mass of ice.

The scow being secured, the anxious and disheartened *citizens* and workmen retired to their homes.

Any community less inured to disappointments and ad-

versity would now have given up in despair. The very elements seemed to have conspired against them. The gale was frightful, and in the afternoon was accompanied by a heavy fall of snow; the water was high, and ice driving with violence on to the flats.

Monday morning the wind had subsided, but the weather was cold and still stormy. A general meeting of the citizens was convened, to whom the superintendent stated the extent of the damage, the probable time it would take to repair it, the amount of funds requisite to complete the work, and his entire confidence in ultimate success. He, however, refused to resume the work until sufficient funds were provided. As the liability to pay \$150 a day would soon attach, the importance of a united and speedy effort was more sensibly felt. The meeting was fully attended, not only by those who were liable on the bond, but by many young mechanics and others. Dr. Johnson, John G. Camp and Dr. Chapin, were chosen a committee to obtain and collect subscriptions.

The following is a list of the names and sums subscribed :

Ebenezer Johnson, in goods at cash price,	\$110.00	Moses Baker, in labor or blacksmith work,	\$ 50.00
Sylvester Mathews, in bread,	25.00	John Root,	25.00
James Reed,	12.50	Jabez Goodell, in labor, provisions, &c,	25.00
Elisha Williams, in labor or goods, by H. B. Potter,	50.00	H. M. Campbell, in hats or labor,	25.00
Wm. Mason, in beef, . . .	5.00	Hart & Cunningham, in goods,	50.00
Joseph Stocking,	25.00	Sheldon Chapin, in goods,	50.00
S. G. Austin,	12.50	J. D. Hoyt, in boots and shoes,	50.00
G. & T. Weed, (including subscription a few days since) donated,	20.00	A. James, in goods,	
O. Newberry,	20.00	P. G. Jenks,	5.00
Ezekiel Folsom, in meat from the market,	12.50	R. B. Heacock & Co, horse \$15, goods \$35, . .	50.00
Samuel Wilkeson,	100.00	Thomas Quigly, in labor,	12.50
Townsend & Coit,	100.00	Timothy Page,	5.00
H. B. Potter, cash \$50, brick \$25,	75.00	Thomas More,	2.00
E. F. Norton,	50.00	Martin Daley, in labor, . .	6.25
		A. Bryant, in goods and clothing,	50.00

H. R. Seymour,\$ 50.00	W. W. Chapin, in team	
Nathaniel Vosburgh, in	work,\$ 10.00	
saddlery, 12.50	Z. Platt, 6.25	
F. B. Merrill, in labor, .. 25.00	E. Walden, in goods, ... 100.00	
John E. Marshall, 25.00	J. Guiteau, in labor or	
D. M. Day, 12.50	cash, 12.50	
Thomas C. Love, 25.00	Cyrenius Chapin, 100.00	
John G. Camp, in cash	James Demarest, in sad-	
and labor, 50.00	dlery, 5.00	
William Ketchum, \$20	D. Henion, 100 lbs. of	
cash, \$30 in hats, 50.00	pork when called for,..	
John A. Lazell, 25.00	W. T. Miller, in fresh	
Lucius Gold, in labor, ... 50.00	meat at market in Buf-	
Samuel A. Bigelow, in	falo village, 50.00	
goods or labor, 25.00	Zachariah Griffin, 10 bar-	
Wm. Folsom, in labor, .. 25.00	rels of lime to be de-	
Selden Davis, 5.00	livered in Buffalo, 6.25	
William Hodge, in labor	Alvin Dodge, in team	
or materials, 25.00	work and manual labor, 10.00	
Velorus Hodge, in work	H. A. Salisbury, in prod-	
or materials, 5.00	uce and hats, 12.50	
Benjamin Hodge, in lum-	Hiram Pratt, in goods, .. 25.00	
ber, 5.00	Erastus Gilbert, in shoes	
William Long, a certain	and boots, 25.00	
brown cow with a white	Erastus Gilbert, bbl. of	
head, to be appraised	pork, 10.00	
by commissioners of	Erastus Gilbert, cash, ... 2.50	
Harbor Association, ..	Oliver Coit, one crow-bar	
Roswell Rosford, in prod-	\$3, cash \$5, 8.00	
uce or provisions, 5.00	Joseph Dart, Jr., in hats, 10.00	
	Benjamin Caryl, in pork, 25.00	

The subscriptions amounted to \$1,361.25, exclusive of the cow and pork, the whole of which was paid except \$110. The provisions and goods were paid to the workmen without loss, but on much of the other property (which was sold at auction), there was an average loss of about 37½ per cent.

The means being secured to prosecute the work, the laborers were called together, and the afternoon of Monday was spent in collecting from the wreck, scrapers, capstans, rigging, etc., and preparing to resume the work. The weather was as uncomfortable as it well could be. Indeed, from the commencement of the gale until the middle of April, there were but two days without snow or rain.

Tuesday morning two rows of piles were put down, on which to erect platforms in place of scows and rafts, which had been destroyed. These platforms were raised several feet above the water to protect the workmen from the spray of the swells which broke against the piles. Six scrapers were got in motion during the day, and notwithstanding the laborers were exposed to a heavy rain, rapid progress was made in removing the sand. Although the heavy swells, which continued to roll in from the lake, rendered it difficult to keep the empty scrapers in line, yet they carried the sand, removed from the channel, towards the shore, and prevented its accumulation.

The necessity of improving all the time was such, that the laborers were required to breakfast in season to appear on the beach by sunrise ready to be carried out to the platforms. Cooked provisions were taken with them for dinner, which each man ate when he pleased, standing in the storm. They continued their work without returning to the shore until dark. The labor was so hard, and the exposure so great, that it was difficult to obtain the necessary help; indeed it would have been impossible but for the labor furnished by the citizens, many of whom sent their hired men for a day or more until their places could be supplied.

The excavation commenced near the outer end of the pier, and progressed towards the shore, deepening the channel to eight feet. By the 15th of April much more than half of the work was accomplished, and every doubt as to the practicability of completing it removed.

The steamboat was rapidly advancing to completion. The builder (who from the first had despaired of seeing the channel opened by the means resorted to) on examining the work and measuring the water in the yet obstructed part of the channel, pronounced the whole scraping process useless, and proposed that the channel of the creek should be confined by planks, extending from the shore into deep water, believing that the water thus confined would produce a current which would soon do what the scrapers could never do—open a good channel. These opinions and plans, communicated to the citizens, created a feverish excitement,

which the superintendent had no opportunity to allay, as he was confined to the work.

The committee which had been charged with the duty of raising the fund for carrying on the work, deemed themselves entitled to direct its expenditure. A majority of them (influenced by the boat-builder) insisted on the immediate construction of the board fence (for such in fact it was), which he had suggested. Piles supplying the place of posts, and planks sharpened at one end and driven into the sand, the upper end spiked to a rail, were to form the whole of this proposed structure. And such was the confidence in its success, that it was with difficulty the committee could be prevailed on to let the scraping be continued.

The board work was put down in two days, and proved, as was anticipated by the superintendent, to be totally useless. A heavier swell than usual setting in, broke it up and removed it out of the way. The scraping then was relied on as the only hope of opening a passage for the boat, which would be ready in a few days to leave the creek.

Although the weather became good the latter part of April, and the work was prosecuted with the utmost diligence, yet the 1st of May came while there was still a few rods of the channel, in which only about six and a half feet of water had been gained. As considerable work yet remained to be done on the boat, and no loss or inconvenience could accrue to the owners in allowing a few days to deepen the channel, yet no time could be obtained. The boat was put in motion, and fortunately the pilot, Captain Miller, having made himself acquainted with what channel there was, ran her out into the lake without difficulty. *The bond was cancelled!* The boat was, however, light; and when fully loaded would require much more water. The scraping was, therefore, continued.

When the boat was finished, the citizens were invited to take an excursion on the lake. It was feared that if the boat should be deeply loaded with passengers, she would ground in the new-made channel. Although this would be a trifling occurrence in itself, yet circumstances had recently occurred which led them to regard the experiment with the deepest

anxiety. An act had passed a few days before, authorizing the canal board to contract for the construction of a harbor at Black Rock, which if completed, might secure the termination of the canal at that place, and supercede Buffalo harbor. The subject was to be acted on by the canal board in a few days, and even so trifling an incident as the grounding of a steamboat might influence their decision, and deprive Buffalo of the fruits of all her toils and exertions in building a harbor.

An effort was, therefore, made either to postpone the steamboat excursion, or limit the number of passengers, but in vain. Neither the captain, nor a majority of the citizens, could appreciate the solicitude of the few. The whole village crowded on board, and the boat grounded. This was the more mortifying, as many of our Black Rock friends were on board, who had always predicted our failure. But after a few minutes' delay in landing some of the people on the pier, the boat moved forward, went alongside of the pier, took on the passengers, and proceeded up the lake, with bugles sounding and banners flying.

NOTE.—The name of George Coit, Judge Wilkeson explains in a note, was omitted merely by oversight from the list of those who shared in the expense and responsibilities of the harbor undertaking.

It is natural that there should have been strong personal and political animosities engendered by the issues of Judge Wilkeson's day. Elijah D. Efner has related the political differences by which he lost the friendship of Judge Wilkeson, "to account for his omitting my name in all his 'Harbor Reports,' notwithstanding I was the largest individual subscriber to indemnify the stockholders of the steamboat Superior for any loss they might sustain on account of not getting the boat out of Buffalo Creek, after it was built, if they would consent to build it here instead of Black Rock. The boat was built here, and we, the subscribers to the bond, were assessed pro rata to open the channel, in addition to which I gave my own services, working in the water up to my waist, as laborers could not be obtained. I put this on paper, because the old citizens who were witnesses to what I state are fast passing away."—*The Adventures and Enterprises of Elijah D. Efner*, Buffalo Historical Society Publications, Vol. IV., p. 42.

In the spring of 1820 Buffalo's newspaper, the *Niagara Patriot*, was an ardent supporter of Daniel D. Tompkins for Governor. Judge Wilkeson was a Clintonian; which induced the *Patriot* to permit one "Slocumb" to publish the following humorous skit in its columns (April 25, 1820): "Judge Wilkeson is now fitting out a small schooner he has, to be ready in case Gov. Clinton loses his election, to start up the lake—probably to make a settlement on the ground where Tecumseh was killed. His ship's officers, we understand, are selected—J. Sheldon acts as boatswain, Crary as cook (an old occupation), and J. W. Moulton as cabin boy. Success to them." But Clinton was elected, no doubt to the chagrin of the *Patriot* and the satisfaction of Judge Wilkeson and his friends.

EARLY TRADE ROUTES.

ADVENTURES AND RECOLLECTIONS OF A PIONEER TRADER,

WITH AN ACCOUNT OF HIS SHARE IN THE BUILDING OF
BUFFALO HARBOR.

BY CAPTAIN JAMES SLOAN.*

Previous to Gen. Wayne's treaty the navigation of the Allegheny River was much interrupted by Indian raids, especially between Fort Franklin and Fort Pitt, a distance of about 70 miles by land, but 130 by the meanders of the river. East of the river, the Indians soon were confronted by the settlements, between the river and the mountains.

* Captain James Sloan came to Black Rock—then a settlement distinct from Buffalo—in 1810, and died there March 5, 1868, in his 80th year. He was born in the State of Pennsylvania, was at an early day a boatman on the Allegheny River and on Chautauqua Lake, and on coming to Black Rock engaged in boating on the Niagara River and in coasting Lake Erie. He was in the Government employ during the War of 1812. During the siege of Fort Erie Captain Sloan daily passed from Buffalo Creek with supplies of ammunition and provisions for the garrison, and always under the batteries on the Canada side. When he died the *Buffalo Commercial Advertiser* said of him: "An honest man never lived." The reader has seen, in the preceding paper, how highly Capt. Sloan was esteemed by Judge Wilkeson. A few years before his death, Capt. Sloan wrote his reminiscences, apparently at the request of the Hon. Louis F. Allen and Charles D. Norton, to whom he addressed his communications. These papers, deposited many years ago with the Buffalo Historical Society, are fragmentary, disconnected and so grotesquely illiterate that to read them is like translating from a newly-discovered foreign tongue, con-

Previous to 1795, little trade was attempted on the river; but after the treaty, signed in that year, Northwestern Pennsylvania commenced settling rapidly, and soon after, Northern Ohio and Western New York. As there were but few roads into all this region, and those new and near impassable, the early settlers were obliged to get their supplies from Pittsburgh, by the river, and so were our northern forts that had been surrendered by the British.

It would be impossible to make a correct estimate of the amount of property shipped by this river route, even for a single year. No record of it was kept. Some days two or three boats might be seen ascending; scarcely a day passed when there was no boat, in the season of navigation. Spring navigation ended about the last of June, continuing longer if the season was wet. It was not resumed in summer freshets; for the river being rapid the rise passed off too soon. Lumbermen, however, descended the river with their lumber, keeping with the flood. The ordinary navigation was by boats carrying from 10 to 16 tons, when loaded so as to draw from 18 inches to two feet. There was quite a brisk trade carried on in canoes and pirogues, a kind of half boat, half canoe. All the boatmen were in a way river peddlers as well as common carriers, vending their wares along the river, at all the landing places and wherever they stopped to cook, etc.

Goods and produce were shipped in this way, to some

structed on a phonetic basis. Capt. Sloan was a man of deeds, not at all a man of the spelling-book; yet the period of his activities was so important, and his share in them so full of interest, that it is well worth while to retell his story in the present volume, though the obligation of literalness, supposed to be incumbent on the transcriber of old documents, must be disregarded. The narrative here presented follows as closely as possible Capt. Sloan's own statements, though abridgment and condensation have been practiced throughout. A portion of his reminiscences—that relating to Buffalo harbor work—was published in the *Buffalo Morning Express*, Nov. 20, 1862. So far as known to the editor of this volume, no other part of Capt. Sloan's papers has been printed. His recollections of early boating on the Allegheny, Chautauqua Lake, Lake Erie and the Niagara, as set down by himself are often disconnected and full of repetitions. His own caption for these aquatic adventures is *Footprints Fifty Years Ago!* The story of his sojourn among the Indians is written by a different hand, evidently having been copied many years ago from his own well-nigh illegible manuscript.

extent, to Olean Point and King's Settlement*, and I presume sent still further East. Produce and Old Monongahela whiskey were brought to Erie, Pa., and Portland, Chautauqua County, and shipped as far east as Oswego and Salt Point, in exchange for salt and cash.

Quite a stream of emigrants from the Eastern States commenced descending the river in the return boats, in small boats and on rafts. This continued till I left the river in 1810, and I am informed still continues to some extent. The shipping place was principally Olean Point, but Waterford and Mayville were also points of embarkation.

Boating on the Allegheny was the severest test the human frame could endure, and hardy men in a few years broke down under its strain. The boatman's diet was bread, bacon, chocolate and whiskey, with but few vegetables. Vast quantities of whiskey were swallowed, but did not seem to have any bad effect. Boats were manned with from seven to nine men, who propelled the craft with setting-poles, heavily ironed, and having a head or button to put the shoulder against. In ascending rapids tow-men were sent out to the head of the run to hold the boat while the rest hurried from stern to bow to set their poles, and by walking astern again thus making the boat gain her own length by every repeated operation. The spring season averaged about 90 days, the fall about 60; deducting 21 Sundays as no good, would leave say 130 days of up-navigation in the year. The up-freight would average, I think, 30 tons a day, making during the navigation season 3,900 tons. The down-freight was lumber, shipped in arks and rafts. The emigrants commenced coming about 1802 or 1803.

In 1808 I left home intending to ship at Pittsburgh for New Orleans, but could make no engagement. Instead I engaged to help collect fruit on the Monongahela for the Chautauqua market. This we obtained mostly along the line of Virginia and Pennsylvania, and on the Cheat River; fruit, both green and dry, being abundant in that part of

* The only King's Settlement the editor finds trace of is in Chenango County; that in the text was probably on the upper Allegheny. Olean Point became Olean in 1808.

country. The Cheat is all in Virginia* and 100 miles above Pittsburgh by river. There are no islands in the Monongahela.

This [? season] numerous Indian raids were made, but the river was guarded by a kind of United States police or forest rangers. Had it not been for this military force the frontier settlements near the east side of the river would have been broken up. The men, from long experience in the forest, were more active and intelligent than the Indians, small bands of whom were often destroyed by them. These rangers would pursue Indian stragglers for hundreds of miles. The Indian trail was followed by knowing their signals. It was by a kind of cipher or hieroglyphics that this forest record was made by bands of Indians, for the information of their Indian friends. Thus a band separating, will break twigs pointing out the course they are going, and showing how many are in each band. Figures were marks in the trees. Our men had obtained a key to these and could decipher them. This was their only guide; they were not tracked as many suppose, by footprints in the trail. These rangers had the art of simulating the calls of deer and wild turkey and other animals, and would call them up and shoot them as well as Indians sometimes, the latter thinking it was game that called. Many of the settlements between the Allegheny River and Allegheny Mountains would have been broken up but for these rangers.

In one of these raids I had two companions captured. They were carried to the Maumee River, near Fort Maumee, and adopted into the family of a chief of the name of Raincat. John, at the time of his capture, was 14, and Nancy was younger. They were with the Indians during the wars of St. Clair and Wayne, a little over four years. [? John] Sloan stated that the Indians were in despair at their reverses in battle, the loss of their friends, the consumption of their crops and the destruction of their towns by Wayne's army, and the conduct of the fort and the Indian traders who had promised them aid in this war as usual but had suffered their town and crops to be destroyed under the very

* West Virginia since 1863.

guns of the fort. The very gates of the fort were shut against the fugitives.

I first came to Buffalo in 1810. I left Portland in August in a small boat, with two barrels of whiskey and two of flour as a kind of venture. The liquor I sold to Sheldon Thompson at Lewiston for six shillings per gallon. He shipped it to Oswego by the Charles & Ann on her first trip. She belonged to Townsend, Bronson & Co. Mr. Thompson was one of the firm and had come to Lewiston to superintend their business.

I had left Pittsburgh in March, 1810, with a canoe carrying 13 barrels of flour and whiskey, and a few articles besides for Mayville. I sold out and returned again with two loaded canoes carrying 31 barrels, mostly flour. These cargoes I sold out along the river and at Mayville, my flour bringing \$7 a barrel and the whiskey six shillings a gallon. I then bought a boat and left Pittsburgh about the middle of June with a full freight for myself and merchants at Mayville and crossroads, being now a common carrier as well as a river peddler. This trip was most disastrous to me, the river falling earlier than usual. I had to canoe a portion of my freight over the shallow rapids between Franklin and Mayville, and in some instances scraping and removing stone out of the channel to pass. At the Chautauqua rapids I had to canoe a large portion of my freight to the head of the rapids and leave it in the woods to be reshipped again in my boat at that point. There were about 14 miles of forest without any inhabitants. Every pound of my freight was delivered and in good order except one potash kettle I left at Pithole Creek. There was a heavy fall of snow when we were near where Jamestown is now.* This was an important channel of communication between the Lakes and the South, supplying all our northwestern forts and posts with munitions of war and provisions, as well as the early settlers in Northern Pennsylvania and Western New York. The lake country could not have been settled at so early a day had it not been for the facilities afforded by this river.

* This evidently refers to a different trip. This portion of Capt. Sloan's MS. is much confused, with no dates to guide the editor.

The French Creek navigation commenced several years prior to that of the Conewango. The posts along French Creek must have been of importance to New York, as they covered the western part of the state from Indian excursions. The navigation of the Allegheny was in active operation a few years prior to 1800. Soon after the occupation of Detroit by United States forces munitions of war and provisions were sent up the Allegheny and French Creek to Forts Franklin, Casawaga, now Meadville, LeBoeuf, now Waterford, Presqu' Isle, now Erie, and Detroit. The early settlers of Chautauqua were partially supplied with their provisions from Pittsburgh. The country being generally heavily timbered, it was a hard section for settlement. Mr. Ellicott ought to have let the settlers have lands for a hundred per cent. less than he did. The first settlers were worn out with toil in clearing the land.

In 1810, having visited Niagara Falls and Lewiston, I crossed over to Queenston. At this time it was a business place, being the head of navigation for the northeastern lakes and rivers, and the foot of navigation for the upper lakes, and the portage between those channels of commerce. Its commanding position made it an important point for the Northwest Company, also for the Government goods for the Indians, and for merchants, mostly fur traders, who supplied their people with goods by this route.

I returned to Buffalo by way of Chippewa, taking dinner there. The innkeeper was an American by the name of Jamison. We took passage in a nondescript vehicle, for which we were charged five shillings apiece, and came to Fort Erie, and paid two shillings apiece ferriage. There were four passengers, all Americans, viz., Samuel Parker, Patrick Jack, William Sloan and myself. At this time there was a bad [? feeling] between a large portion of the Canada people and citizens of the United States, who were received with a kind of uncivil contempt, which was reciprocated by the people of the United States. It was evident, after the attack of the Leopard on the Chesapeake* that only an appeal to the sword would settle the controversy.

* June 22, 1807.

In the fall of 1811, being engaged in the Detroit fisheries and not succeeding well, I transferred my operations with a few goods to the rapids at the outlet of Lake Huron and passed the winter there. The fisheries at this time were an important branch of commerce. They and the fur trade were the principal support of Detroit and Michigan. As the balance of the trade was against the people there they adopted an ingenious device to retain money in the city. This was to cut silver coin into small change, commencing at the outer rim and cutting to the center, making 10 shillings out of a dollar. Smaller pieces went through the same process. As this left a rough edge and a sharp point they soon cut the pocket and no one would attempt to carry this light money out of the territory. Their penal code was rather a severe one. Offenders were sold and sometimes whipped in the public street; the culprits brought very little and generally soon left for parts unknown, thus ridding the city of their presence.

At the rapids at this time there was a band of Chippewa Indians that claimed jurisdiction and ownership in the lands there, under two chiefs. They were of a roving disposition and mostly scattered in the forest till after hunting and sugar-making. They then generally drew home to the rapids for fishing purposes and pitched their lodges for a time. They had a peculiar way of curing sturgeon. This was by cutting them in thin, wide slices, and drying them in the sun; then they would pack them away in bundles for future consumption. In this way they saved them without salt. They were rather good eating. This band was poor and owned no animals but dogs. They were hostile to the United States, with the exception of the Rileys and one or two families of their Indian friends. This hostility was principally caused by British and Canadian influence. There were three brothers and one sister of the Rileys; James, John, Peter and Mary were their names. Their mother was a Chippewa woman and they belonged to the band. Their father lived in the city of Schenectady and was postmaster of that city for a time.

I now, with the aid of James Riley, commenced learning

the Chippewa language. He also spoke the French language fluently and tolerable English. I committed the English and Indian words to writing; the Indians themselves were surprised at my learning their language so fast. The Chippewa language is a beautiful one and flows smoothly from the tongue. The two chiefs were aged men. The head chief was a stupid man, who inherited his position from his ancestors, who had been great chiefs and warriors. Puckwanosh, the other chief, though not possessing so much authority, was truly a great man. He was the most majestic and graceful man I ever saw; truly a magnificent speaker. His family was interesting and beautiful—for Indians: four sons and two daughters; the chief was a widower. The head chief's family was rather ordinary and of a low caste, with the exception of the youngest daughter who was a fine girl. Puckwanosh must have attracted the notice of the officials of our Government as he had a beautiful American flag and a heavy American silver medal. When he wished to pay his respects to me or ask a small favor he would always first hoist the flag and it was doubtless the first American flag hoisted over where Fort Gratiot now stands.

The collection of furs in the wilds of Michigan, at this time, was principally by Frenchmen and they were admirably adapted for that work. They would scour the woods for weeks with goods and peltry on their backs, their principal generally establishing himself in some Indian town or settlement, and then sending runners into the forest in all directions. This mode of life was not without its dangers. The traders and couriers were sometimes killed by the Indians.

I visited an Indian camp with a young Indian who informed me where there was a camp where I could get two bear skins with my goods. We left after dinner on snowshoes, the snow being fully three feet deep. Not being used to travelling on snowshoes I lost my balance and pitched into the snow, the shoes holding my feet up and my head down. I was not able to extricate myself until my Indian friend helped me out. About sunset we entered a dense and

dismal forest and thicket. Here we found the Indians at two lodges. They seemed pleased to see us, and I was installed in the best lodge with bear's meat and honey for supper. They now offered me a skin for whiskey. I then opened my pack, in one corner of the lodge. They made an offering of a little of the liquor on the fire commending themselves to the protection of the Great Spirit and asking his blessing on the "Nishaunaba" Indian. They did not drink until a late hour and were very quiet.

Being fatigued with travelling on snowshoes I soon fell asleep and had a good night's rest. It is surprising how warm a few dry branches will keep one of these lodges. The fire is always placed in the center, and the smoke escapes at the top where the lodge comes to a point. The covering of the lodge is rush matting and the lodge is of a cone shape. In the morning we bid good-bye to our Indian friends and returned home. I procured several small skins, but saw no bear skins.

Spring now came and with it the Indians. Their hunting and sugar operations had closed and they emerged out of the wilderness; their fishing harvest had arrived. I employed some of them to catch fish for me. There was a small village of lodges around me; we were encamped at the extreme point where the River Huron intersects the Saint Clair.* Huron was then called by the French and Indians Wolf River. I spent some pleasant afternoons on the green lawn between the two rivers with the Indian boys and girls. Their social kindness to me was surprising and there never was but one incident to interrupt our friendship, during the seven or eight months that I remained with them. This unfortunately was with the young Indian who accompanied me to the Indian camp. I am of the opinion that my safety was owing to the interposition of the chiefs who had forbid him injuring me. He had, however, challenged me to fight him with arms which, from necessity, I instantly accepted, giving him the choice of the arms, with the exception of the arrow. This mode he chose, which I refused, as I

* The Black River appears to be meant, not the Huron, which empties into Lake Erie below the Detroit.

knew nothing about the bow and arrow. Things remained in this position for a few days, when, sitting in my fishing hut, I noticed him leaping, seeming in a rage, cleaving the air and other objects that came within range of his hatchet. At last he ran swiftly for my hut, which was open in front. In turning the corner my gun was within a few feet of his breast. He stood for a few moments, dropped his hatchet and came and sat down beside me. He said, we would be friends, and we continued so afterwards. Had he advanced a step farther with his hatchet I would have shot him. If I had done so I do not think I would have been punished as many of the Indians saw that I was acting on the defensive.

His quarrel with me grew out of a very insignificant affair. In our outdoor exercise I was more than a match for him and he became offended. During my absence at Detroit he married an Indian girl named Ti-au-wash, but no one mentioned this on my return. I talked and joked with her and the old chief's daughter as usual when I returned. His mother noticing this informed me that her son had married Ti-au-wash during my absence, mentioning the amount of "cins-qua-quit" (sugar) and trinkets paid to the girl's parents for her.

It was now late in May, and the Indians began to grow uneasy expecting a war. One in a grave manner said to me :

"We and the Saga-nosh (English) are going to war with the Che-mo-ka-man (Americans). We will then have to take your scalp."

I told him I had no fear of that but we would be friends until war did take place, then we would settle all scalping matters. To this he assented with an exclamation or rather a grunt of satisfaction. As this was subsequent, however, to the battle of Tippecanoe and one of the band was then in Detroit jail for killing a Frenchman, his remarks were anything but flattering. Riley and the Frenchman were coming up the river with a cutter in a boat. The Indian was sitting in the cutter when he was pitched into the river by the branch of a tree. The Frenchman could not refrain from laughing, though Riley cautioned him against it. The In-

dian entered the boat again, took up his gun and shot the Frenchman through the head, killing him instantly.

This band was poor, but honest, and they held the ties of marriage strictly. In religious matters they seemed sincere. Puck-wa-nosh, the chief, acted as high priest; he performed the ceremonies inside a kind of tabernacle of matting. The audience sat or stood around in deep and devout meditation. Never did I see anything more solemn. His voice was more than human in impressiveness.

It was about the last of May and they were preparing to leave for Amherstburgh. Their effects were shipped in a fleet of canoes. They spread their blankets to the breeze and stood down the river. I sat down on the bank and watched them until they faded from my sight. A desolate sadness filled my heart. I thought of home and the green hills of Pennsylvania and my kind neighbors who had just left me forever—and I wept.

I saw one of the band in Michigan after the war. He informed me that my opponent and many of the band were dead or dispersed. His own family was dead. Poor old man, he seemed heart-broken and I pitied him much.

It was now the first of June. I got my effects down to Detroit and shipped them on the sloop Contractor, Captain James Beard. We came to anchor in Buffalo bay about the 20th of June, 1812. The Captain went ashore and when he returned he said it was reported that war had been declared. The official declaration came on a few days after. The sloop was laid up in Scajaquada Creek and was one of Commodore Perry's vessels in the action on Lake Erie.

A great change has taken place with the red man in the last 60 years. His appearance at the commencement of this century was wild, warlike and independent, but, alas! now he is docile, melancholy and subdued. A great change has also taken place in his dress. Then it was of the most grotesque appearance; the hair generally shaved close off the head, except a tuft on the crown. This was often adorned with paint and feathers. Others of mature age, slit the rim of the ear, and wore pieces of lead inserted to distend the rim. Their wardrobe was of the most scanty patterns; in

the summer generally a calico shirt, leggins or bare legs. In the winter a capoe [*? capote*] coat, leggins and moccasins, with a strip of blue cloth running up the back and front and fastened around the waist with a belt or girdle. I have no recollections, for several years after 1800, of seeing any Indian with pantaloons or hat on. Those who could afford it had a great passion for silver ornaments; their garments were adorned with broaches, rings and half-moons down the breast in great profusion.

In the early part of this century the Cornplanter band and other northern Indians had quite a trade at Pittsburgh. Although this was a great way to go to trade there was no inconveniency in it to the Indian. From the source of the river to near its mouth were the Indians' elysium fields, hills and mountains being stocked with vast herds of deer and other game. They generally had to winter on the river, and come down to Pittsburgh in the hills and mountains to kill game to make their purchases with. In 1799 an Indian called by the whites Hayes, during the hunting season killed 60 deer and other game, only 47 miles north of Pittsburgh. The brook he encamped on still bears his name. This will give some idea of the game on the mountains of that river. The white hunters sometimes objected to the Indians hunting as they had sold their lands. The Indians, however, alleged they had made no transfer of the game on their land, and while it lay wild they had rights as good as, if not better than, the white man. They also alleged that when white men sold their land they did not let their cattle go with the land without pay. As this was a kind of knock-down argument, they were not molested. Naturally there was a hostile feeling against the Indians at this time, for many had lost their friends in the Indian wars and raids. The Cornplanter band was, however, an exception. They were generally treated with kindness in consequence of the excellent reputation of their chief.

Cornplanter was a household word when I was a lad. He always bore the reputation of a moral and an honest man, and his name is held in grateful remembrance from the

source to the mouth of that river, and there are steamboats on the Allegheny and Ohio rivers bearing his name.

Red Jacket, as seen in the streets of Buffalo with his blanket over his shoulders and otherwise indifferently clothed, appeared like a very common kind of an Indian until you caught his eye. This was sharp and intelligent and when he spoke in council his eyes flashed with great brilliancy and fire. I attended two councils where Red Jacket addressed the Indian audience in a set speech. Although the Indians are grave in council, they were moved with his oration as their native forests are with a mighty wind. These councils were held early in July under an elm tree east of Washington Street, near the intersection of North Division Street. Judge Granger, as Indian agent, addressed the Indians through Messrs. Parrish and Jones, as interpreters. His speech was a kind of history of the past and friendly advice for guidance in the future. It appeared to be well received by the Indians. One object of the council was to have our Indians call a council in Canada to prevail on the Canada Indians to lay neutral during the war. Our Indians were willing to do so. The council was held in Canada, but the Canada Indians refused to lay down the hatchet. Judge Granger was an able and pleasant speaker and a good patriot; would to heaven we were all so now. But, alas! we have public journals, journalists and others who assail our Government and say a great deal more against it than against Jeff Davis's government.*

Farmer's Brother deserves a passing notice. He was a splendid looking old chief, when I knew him, and was said to be 80 years old in 1813. At this great age he bore arms and was seriously injured by the wind of a cannon ball in the rear of Fort George in 1813. He was prostrated by its force and a good deal of swelling took place. The Farmer was more social in his intercourse with the whites than Red Jacket. I recollect staying over night at Pomeroy's Buffalo tavern late in the fall of 1813, when the Farmer and Sally, his wife, passed the night there. He had come up to cele-

* Written in 1862.

brate the anniversary of his friend, Tawway, who had escaped from a drunken mob to the house of the chief.

The Farmer, although a gentle Indian, committed a rash act in killing an Indian spy from the Grand River. This took place between Swan and Seneca streets, on Main Street. The Farmer had been threatened and insulted by the Indian. He wore a large and splendid medal said to have been presented to him by General Washington, with the remark that he was the noblest and best looking Indian that he had ever seen. Sally, his wife, was a noble-looking woman, apparently a good deal younger than her husband. The Farmer died in 1814 and was buried with the honors of war in the old cemetery on Franklin Street.*

John Brant was the most remarkable Indian I ever saw. Though rather dark, his person and appearance were splendid and his features faultless and beaming with intelligence—open, frank and polite, with great conversational powers, and always a gentleman. He was elected to parliament, but in consequence of the votes polled by those having title from his father, he was not returned as member, although the title had been confirmed by Government. He died with the cholera in 1834. His death was truly affecting. In an interval of pain before he expired he made some reflections on his past life, saying he ought to have been a better and a greater man from the opportunity he had. He then asked to be carried to the door to see the light before darkness closed on him forever. This was done and poor Brant then passed away.†

I spent the month of December, 1813, in visiting my friends in Pennsylvania, not having been home in nearly four years. It was peaceable times along the lines when I

* Farmer's Brother died March 2, 1815. His remains were removed from the Franklin Street burying-ground (site of the present City and County Hall) to Forest Lawn, Oct. 15, 1851.

† It was John Brant, a son of Joseph, who, while in England in 1823, called the attention of the poet Campbell to the injustice which the latter had done to the character of Joseph Brant, in the poem, *Gertrude of Wyoming*. Documents were shown to the poet which convinced him of his error; this he acknowledged in a note to a subsequent edition, but the text of the poem remained unchanged and is probably in no small degree responsible for the erroneous ideas that have prevailed regarding Joseph Brant.

left. On my return in January, 1814, I was shocked to find Buffalo in ashes. Of all the inhabitants of that village and Black Rock the only ones I saw were Seth Grosvenor and Reuben B. Heacock, for a few minutes at Cold Spring, and a woman named Daly. They had all been scattered to the four winds, like Noah's dove finding no rest. Sitting in my saddle I took a sorrowful survey of the ruin and desolation around me, without seeing man, beast or fowl, or anything that had the breath of life in it.

In my younger days I had had a great passion for boating, and my anxious desire was to go boating on the Ohio and Mississippi, but my destiny bound me to Buffalo. I now bade the place a sorrowful farewell. My intention was to build one or more boats for the Ohio River trade, but as they were now building steamboats at Pittsburgh every man that knew anything of the art was employed, and I could procure no ship-carpenters. I returned to Buffalo again, in the spring of 1814. I now found things greatly changed. Gen. Scott was now established here with quite a force. Many traders had established themselves in shanties and temporary buildings. Some of the inhabitants had returned, and strains of martial music enlivened the scene. I now actively engaged in boating for the army.

In March, 1815, I passed through a dangerous firing ordeal. In looking over some old papers I find a note I gave, under date of Willoughby [O.], March 8, 1815, promising to pay John Warren or order, 10 days after date, the sum of \$134.50. This note was given for the duties on about \$2,000 worth of goods bought of Judge Wilkeson, with the exception of a few goods bought from Grosvenor & Heacock to complete the assortment, and a lot of boots from P. P. Pratt.* Such goods sell rapidly after war, though provisions do not. It was proper to sell as soon as possible; but to run the goods myself into the midst of the British army, and of the desperate fellows who always hang on the skirts of an army for plunder, was another thing. I left [Buffalo] on the morning of the 8th March and swept close along the north shore. The first sign of life I saw was

* So in the MS. Samuel Pratt is probably meant.

six and a half miles below Waterloo [Fort Erie village] at Everts's. Here I landed, as it so happened at the same time that Col. Warren was passing. He said I was in his district and must settle the duty. This was a stunner. I had only a small sum with me for current expenses. He, however, took my note as above stated, and endorsed \$63 on it as paid. That was for goods I sold Everts, and handed him [the money] before he mounted.

Ten miles below Waterloo I was brought to by the advance picket guard. I infer this was a strong guard, as three or four commissioned officers came on board, one with the title of major. They made some purchases and I was allowed to pass on. Landing at Chippewa we were assailed with terrible language by army vagabonds. So terrified was a young man whom I had taken along for assistant, that he fled instantly, back to Buffalo, leaving me with the prospect that I would lose my goods if not my life. The ruffians threatened to send me, my boat and goods over the falls if I offered to vend any of my goods there. They were, they said, afraid of being . . . *

Boating on the Niagara becoming dull, the 1st of June, 1815, I applied to my old friend Major Camp for business on the lake. Having done hazardous boating for him during the war, he did not hesitate to ship two companies of United States soldiers, baggage, provisions and all, on board my two boats, Cpts. Fowl and Fisher. I afterwards carried Lt. Armstrong's company, making three trips through the lake during the summer between Buffalo and Detroit. These boats were not adapted to lake navigation, being long, shallow, open boats, perfectly flat in the bottom. My mode of navigating them was to keep close in shore, noting the mouths of the creeks and rivers so as to make a harbor in case of necessity. There were no other harbors in those

* The narrative aggravatingly is discontinued at this point, in the original manuscript, and in the middle of a page, indicating that Capt. Sloan did not finish it. As he calls it above "a dangerous firing ordeal," the inference is that he escaped from the "ruffins" (as his manuscript has it) only after an exchange of something more dangerous than the "terable language" with which they had greeted him. Incomplete as it is, the incident has its value as illustrating the difficulties attending what was probably the first attempt at international trade on the Niagara after the cessation of hostilities.

days, and the rivers were sometimes barred over. Such superfluities as an anchor or compass I never carried, but once; and this was the cause of my losing my cargo.*

Nothing worthy of note took place during the season. The last trip was a fishing excursion. To save distance I went up the Canada shore. That fall I put up 119 barrels of whitefish at Windmill Point, at the outlet of Lake St. Clair, and shipped them to Black Rock by Capt. Levi Johnson in the schooner Pilot. I cannot now recollect any vessels as belonging to Buffalo in 1815. The sloop Commodore Perry and the Pilot belonged to Cleveland. The General Jackson was built this year at Ashtabula. There were one or two poor vessels belonging to Detroit; the public (i. e., Government) vessels lay at Erie. Maj. Camp, Miller and Beard owned the brig Hunter for a short time in 1815 and then sold her to the United States.

In the spring of 1816 there were several fine vessels; the schooners Michigan, Erie, and sloop Hanna. The brig Union was about 94 tons, the Michigan a little more and the Erie a little less. The schooner Neptune was brought out this year and some others of less note. The brig Union appeared to be the base of [Jonathan] Sidway's great fortune. Capt. James Beard, who sailed her in 1816, told me she cleared \$6,000 that year. This amount in those days was a vast sum to invest in real estate.†

Up to 1817 I supposed that no other agency than the winds caused the waters of Lake Erie to ebb and flow. From that date to the present time I am positive there are other causes, to me unknown. In the spring of 1817, being on a voyage to Grand River, I put in at Point Abino. Soon after landing I noticed the water was falling fast. We hastened to move the boat into deep water, but did not succeed, and in a few minutes walked round the boat on bare ground, the water having fallen about two feet. The people on the Point said I need not be alarmed, as there were always tides flowing in the bay, and that the tide would soon

* But he doesn't tell us how.

† Referring to profitable investments in Main Street property, made in the Sidway interest.

be in again. In about an hour I resumed my voyage. The tides still flow in Point Abino bay, but are not often so high.

A very heavy ebbing of the lake took place about the last of May, 1825, the water falling three feet. I had just entered Buffalo Creek with a heavy load of goods in the boat Sally, my men propelling her with setting-poles. The day was calm and warm. In an instant we were checked by a flow of water out of the creek, giving us sternway into the lake. We, however, got lines over the spiles and checked her up. The Abagail, a large open river boat belonging to Sheldon Thompson and myself was undergoing repairs at the intersection of Main Street and the creek. He had all the caulkers he could procure at work on her, and a number of barrels of salt on the outer rim to careen her. So rapid was the fall of water that the boat was partly capsized and all the salt was lost in the creek.*

In 1818 I again bade Buffalo farewell, but after nearly two years of sickness and misfortune, for self and family, I returned again to Buffalo.

All the preliminary arrangements to commence work on the harbor at the mouth of Buffalo Creek were completed early in May, 1820. I was called upon by Judge Wilkeson to assist in its construction. I was at a loss to know what I could do. I had just returned from a sojourn of nearly two years in the swamps of Michigan and the Maumee River, broken down in health and fortune. I, however, obtained an old boat from Sill, Thompson & Co., patched her up and commenced boating stone, from the Canada shore. The Black Rock quarries had not yet been opened, and had they been it would have been difficult to obtain stone on account of the current of the river and surf of the lake.

The Buffalo Harbor Company consisted of Townsend & Coit, Samuel Wilkeson and Oliver Forward. These men mortgaged their property to the State of New York for \$12,000, to construct the harbor. This was a vast sum of

* Capt. Sloan gives other instances of sudden changes in Lake Erie's level, and theorizes as to the cause, at a length to which it is hardly profitable to follow him. His historical recollections are more valuable than his deductions in the realm of natural phenomena.

money in those days for three houses to raise, when times were hard and property at a low figure in the village of Buffalo. They, however, with a commendable zeal commenced the harbor, though its stability was much questioned. It was held that no harbor would stand on a bed of sand, and the company had much to discourage them; still the Superintendent with unceasing energy and judgment pressed the work forward through the summer of 1820. And when after this long lapse of time* I look back to what was done in 1820 with the men and means employed on this work, I am astonished at what was performed.

I deem it proper to notice the marine of the port of Buffalo Creek in May, 1820. Winthrop Fox owned two boats that could have carried a cord of stone each. Jonathan Umpstead [Olmstead] owned one that carried a cord and a half. These three boats, Skate's skiff and Meadows's canoe constituted on the 1st of May, 1820, the whole marine of the port of Buffalo Creek. A yawl boat and a scow that carried a cord of stone were added soon after by the Harbor Company, for harbor purposes. Some of our citizens owned vessel stock on the lake, but hailing from other ports. The humble craft of Meadows I give a place in the list, as he was one of the first settlers of the village of Buffalo, and has a kind of posthumous fame in the annals of our courts.

I was actively engaged until about the 20th of June, in boating stone from the Canada shore. Up to this time my boat and a few stones from the Plains had been sufficient to sink the piers in shallow waters. The agent was now anxious that I should secure another boat. Fox, on whom they relied for stone, never delivered any, or his boats. Umpstead had a contract with the Walk-in-the-Water, and was boating wood for that steamboat from the Indian reservation to Black Rock. I applied to my old friend James Cummings, Esq., of Chippewa, who kindly lent me a boat. Although this was done as a favor to myself, it was at this critical moment of more consequence to the company. With these two boats I was able to deliver nine cords of stone per day in calm weather. My plan was to man strong and load light,

* Written in 1862.

so that we could heave the stone overboard if we were struck with a squall. The summer of 1820 was one of calms and light winds. The lake was said to be lower by the old settlers on the Canada shore than it had been since the Revolutionary War.

The construction of Buffalo harbor being the first attempt to build a harbor on the lakes,* was attended with much difficulty and hazard. The means of the company were inadequate for the construction of the work, and its strength was severely tested. In the fall of 1820 the sea washed the stone out of sections of the cribs as low as the surface of the water, yet the work and the trundling were so strong and faithfully done that the empty space stood the gales and the shock of the sea. But little iron was used in the harbor—only a few spike. The cribs were refilled and capped over with flattened ties to keep the sea from washing the stone out of the cribs. In opening a new channel, the present one, the harbor was again threatened with ruin by the creek undermining and making excavations under long sections of the cribs and partially capsizing them. Still they stood this severe test without breaking up. The wisdom of putting large quantities of brush in the cribs was now apparent, as it prevented the stone from falling into the excavations made by the creek.

Buffalo Creek previous to the construction of the harbor was exceedingly difficult to enter, a long outer bar confining its channel in shore, and causing its entrance into the lake nearly parallel with the shore. When the action of the sea, as was often the case, would confine the creek by shifting the bar in shore, the creek would then break through the bar, washing a better entrance into the harbor. It was always, however, unsafe to enter when there was a sea on the outer bar, even when there was sufficient water to do so. The channels made by the creek across the bar would gradually fill up again, thus causing a continual shifting of

* This is not strictly accurate, for in the spring of 1819 harbor improvements were attempted at the mouth of Grand River, Ohio. The work at Buffalo was the second attempt, and the first success. See Capt. Augustus Walker's paper, in this volume.

the channel of the creek by the action of the sea and current of the stream. Other streams of the lake entered at about right angles with the lake shore, making their entrance more direct and safe.

In justice to the Superintendent of the harbor, the late Judge Wilkeson, much is due from the citizens of Buffalo, to his memory and family, for his energy and judgment in its construction. Having had much experience in harbor building since 1820 I am satisfied that no other plan than the one adopted could have resisted the fall gales of 1820. Had this work failed in 1820, the results would have been most disastrous to the village of Buffalo. Doubtless no other work of the kind would have been attempted for years after, if ever. And the city of Buffalo, its commercial interests, business and population would have been removed to the Niagara River. What vast results are produced by the wisdom and genius of a single individual.

This noble river, with its clear running waters and fine high banks, its commercial marine, both steam and sail, bid fair to rival Buffalo and carry off the palm. Powerful competitors and opponents of the Buffalo harbor were now in the field, sustained by the villages from Oswego to Black Rock, pressing their claims for a harbor at the latter place. A failure in 1820 would have sealed the fate and fortunes of Buffalo. Buffalo flats and creek at this period were anything but inviting. From Little Buffalo Creek northerly to near the Niagara River, with the exception of a few ridges of timber and ponds of water, it was a marsh. Some of the ponds were stocked with fish. In a large one a little southeasterly of where the workhouse now stands* the soldiers assured me they had caught sturgeon. There were two outlets to this swamp, one into Buffalo Creek near its mouth, the other into the Niagara River, where the old canal intersects the harbor. Previous to the war there was a rim or bank from near Buffalo Creek to the Niagara River higher than the land inside. This ridge or bank became elevated into sandhills, at a point between Buffalo Creek and Niag-

* The older part of the present Erie County Penitentiary, on Fifth Street, erected 1847.

ara River, some 40 feet high, and more than half a mile in length, the whole rim or bank covered with forest. The timber on it and the ridges was taken mostly by the United States troops for the construction of barracks and for fuel. There was a wide and beautiful sand beach between the bank and the lake. There had apparently no change taken place either in the beach or the bank for a long time previous to the cutting of the timber off the banks, apparently not for centuries.

The procuring of stone from the Canada shore was a dangerous and slavish operation in our old inefficient boats. Our mode was to run up close in shore and commence loading, and as the boat settled keep shoving out farther until loaded, lifting the stone all out of the water. None were quarried. We were often obliged to do our cooking and dry ourselves by driftwood fires, in the evening, and sleep in open boats. The labor of the harbor men was also uncomfortable and heavy. They were, however, better fed and lodged than the boatmen. It would naturally be presumed men would break down under such drudgery. This was not, however, the case. They were cheerful and healthy. I do not recollect of a single man being sick on the works during the summer. My own health improved rapidly. Umpstead and myself made two trips daily to the Canada shore in good weather, delivering with our boats two loads of stone each per day; and when the wants were pressing, we made three trips a day by working in the evening. The other boats generally made but one trip a day.

About the 20th of June I was joined by Umpstead and three boats from up the lake. This enabled the Harbor Company to reduce the price of stone from \$3.50 to \$3 per cord. The timber for the work was obtained in Hamburg, and delivered on the bank near the works for \$30 a thousand, cubic measure. The harbor ties were obtained for \$9 a hundred. I had several load of stone delivered on the beach at a point where the work was to commence. About six eighths of all the stone used in 1820, was obtained on the Canada shore, the balance from Bird Island, Light House Reef and the Plains. The citizens of Fort

Erie in the after part of the season were opposed to our taking stone, and one of my boats was seized and condemned. Col. Warren, a friend of mine, would have given her up, as she had committed no breach of revenue law, but was overruled by his deputy and others. This misfortune reduced me again to poverty and distress. This boat the company ought to have paid me for, as I pioneered the other boats across, when the necessities of the company were pressing for stone. Two more of the boats were seized afterwards, but were retaken again by the owners at night from Fort Erie without consulting the collector. This threw the deputy into a towering rage, and the first time I ventured into his presence, he abused the whole Yankee nation and myself in particular. But after considerable palaver it was agreed that the balance of the boats might continue getting stone by paying a small entrance fee, and that he would hold me accountable for the payment. I assured him I would do all in my power to collect or compel the other boats to pay the fee. We were to pay two shillings a load entrance, and pay up once a week. This was but partially complied with, the boats neglecting or refusing to pay the fee. The deputy, though a passionate man, was not a bad man to deal with, and the boats had no further trouble, although I was annoyed in keeping matters straight, but gained the deputy's friendship.

HISTORY OF BUFFALO HARBOR.

ITS CONSTRUCTION AND IMPROVEMENT DURING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

COMPILED FROM RECORDS IN THE U. S. ENGINEER'S OFFICE,
BUFFALO, N. Y.

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Along in the closing days of the eighteenth century the important part that the Great Lakes were to play in the commercial development of our country was becoming recognized with greater and greater force. Wise and thoughtful men familiar with the lakes and their connecting waters and the country in their vicinity, were impressed with the fact that at the lower end of Lake Erie, where the waters converge into the swift and impassable Niagara River, there must come into existence a city and harbor, where vessels navigating the lakes could discharge or take on cargoes and passengers *en route* between the East and West.

At this time there were two methods of communication between the Atlantic seaboard and the foot of Lake Erie: by foot, horseback or wagon across the state of New York;

or by boat up the Hudson and Mohawk rivers, over to Oneida Lake, and down Oneida and Oswego rivers to Lake Ontario, making all necessary portages, thence on through Lake Ontario to the lower Niagara River at Lewiston, thence by portage about the Falls to the upper Niagara River and Lake Erie. The rapids at the extreme head of the Niagara precluded the use of this river as a harbor in which the small sailing boats of that day navigating the Great Lakes could find a refuge and discharge and take on cargo. Some protection was required by vessels in harbor against the storms of Lake Erie, and this was furnished to a certain extent by a small island called Bird Island, situated just at the head of the Niagara River on the American side. Behind this little island the small vessels of the day could get a partial shelter, and on the river bank at this sheltered spot the village of Black Rock was started, and its projectors and early settlers built high hopes on its becoming the chief commercial emporium at the foot of Lake Erie.

But the spirit of enterprise and rivalry was abroad. About two miles above Black Rock a small stream known as Buffalo Creek emptied its waters into Lake Erie, and about its mouth a little settlement was started. Buffalo Creek was navigable for canoes for some eight or ten miles above its mouth; in the lower part of its course for a mile or more it was deep enough to float the largest lake ship of the time, but there was a troublesome sandbar at its mouth and the entrance to the creek was uncertain, crooked and bad, making the inner harbor very difficult, and sometimes impossible, of entrance. "If this wretched bar could be removed and the entrance rendered straight and stable, Buffalo Creek is a better harbor than Black Rock." So said the early Buffalonians. This was scoffed at by the Black Rockers, and an intense rivalry sprang up between these two frontier villages, about two miles apart.

In the meantime an event fraught with tremendous consequences to New York State and to Buffalo in particular was in course of preparation and about to culminate. This was the construction of the Erie Canal. This was under consideration for many years before the canal was finally

completed, and before this stage was reached it was necessary to decide on its western terminus. The decision was narrowed down to Black Rock and Buffalo, and the rivalry between the two places became in consequence more and more bitter, and feeling ran high as the partisans of each place recognized that the settlement of this question would turn the scale and decide which would be the chief city of the future.

A canal commission came and sat, and examined and listened to the rival claims. The Black Rockers had built a pier to add to the facilities of their harbor. The Buffalonians had yet to prove that a suitable entrance could be made to their creek, but they secured the consent of the canal commission to reserve their decision as to which should be the canal terminus until they had time to construct their harbor entrance. Then came the struggle, but the Buffalonians had faith in their harbor and joined hands and pockets "to remove that bar." They did remove it and the canal commissioners at last decided in favor of Buffalo. They wisely felt that they were not deciding the question in the light of the past and present, but chiefly in the light of the future, and that Buffalo could more easily be made into a harbor of ample dimensions to accommodate the lake commerce of the future than could the Niagara River at Black Rock. Incidentally also by tapping Lake Erie at Buffalo Creek they would gain a foot or two of elevation of water over tapping the Niagara River at Black Rock, and this would mean a foot or more less excavation all the way to Lockport.

The decision of the canal commission settled the matter, and Buffalo's supremacy was assured, and it commenced in absolute security its onward march to the proud position in the world of trade and commerce that it occupies today, during which it swallowed Black Rock, which now is but a small corner of the great city.

This position was not reached without great struggles and sacrifices on the part of the people of Buffalo, in which they were very materially aided by the United States. To convert the little Buffalo Creek into a safe and easily-entered harbor in which it is possible to handle the enormous

commerce of the present day has been a work of great magnitude and cost. It was accomplished by degrees and consumed all of the nineteenth century, and now at the dawn of the twentieth century, that commerce, both in magnitude of products handled and in the size of ships, is outgrowing the creek harbor, and the greater Buffalo of the future must develop along other lines and in a more commodious outer harbor.

The history of the development of the harbor is interesting and instructive, and it is proposed to outline it and to describe briefly the harbor works built in the past and now being built by the United States Government to provide for the present and future accommodation of Buffalo's commerce. These works, it must be understood, are simply those built to secure and protect the entrance channel and the river and outer harbors. The United States Government lends its aid only to securing and maintaining the great public highways of commerce; not to developing and improving the inner channelways, the building of docks and warehouses and elevators, which are owned and controlled by municipalities, corporations, and individuals.

The original troublesome bar at the mouth of Buffalo Creek was made by the detritus brought down by the stream and by the sands moving along the lake beach towards the Niagara River. Similar formations exist at the mouths of most streams emptying into great bodies of water subject to strong wave action, and engineers are very frequently called upon to develop and maintain channels across such bars.

At Buffalo it was not only necessary to excavate the channel across the bar, but to build protective structures which would prevent the sand borne by littoral currents from filling it up again. This was originally accomplished by the pioneers of Buffalo as before stated. The early residents of Buffalo did not have much money, but they had abundant faith and plenty of "sand" in their make-up to combat the sands of the bar. Several of them clubbed together and borrowed \$12,000 from the State of New York, a large sum in those days, giving their personal notes for the

amount. Then they went to work and dug their channel and to protect it built a portion of what are now the United States piers, of timber cribwork filled with stone and of piles and brush. Although it has passed through many vicissitudes, this is the entrance channel of today. The history of the opening of the entrance channel and the construction of the original piers is most interestingly and graphically described in Judge Wilkeson's paper in the archives of the Buffalo Historical Society.*

The preliminary work as above outlined, the struggle to secure the primitive entrance channel, was accomplished in 1820 and 1821. It was accomplished with funds advanced by the enterprising citizens of Buffalo, and afterwards refunded by the State of New York, the State assuming control of the harbor. The United States Government had not yet extended a helping hand. For a description of these first harbor works we must depend upon the records of the Buffalo Historical Society. Drawing upon those records, Johnson's *Centennial History of Erie County* says (pp. 350-351):

"The mouth of the creek (Buffalo) was 60 rods north of where it now is, the stream running for that distance nearly parallel with the lake. The ridge between them was found to be of gravel, so solid that it could not be removed (as was necessary to make a new mouth and a straight channel) by manual labor without immense expense. . . . The harbor was completed in the summer of 1821, 221 working days having been occupied in its construction." It consisted of a south pier composed of timber cribs filled with stone and brush, extending a quarter of a mile into the lake to 13 feet of water, and a north pier composed of a double row of piles filled with brush and stone. This north pier was about 1,000 feet in length.†

From Judge Wilkeson's narrative we can infer (for he gives no data on channel dimensions) that the channel be-

* Published, pp. 134-214 of this volume.

† William Peacock's original report to the Legislature, 1819, proposed a stone pier 990 feet long, six feet above lake level, 30 feet broad at the bottom and 10 feet broad at the top. Its cost was estimated at \$12,787, or if built of wood, at \$10,500.—See abstract in the *Albany Gazette*, reprinted in the *Niagara Patriot*, March 2, 1819.

tween the piers was about eight feet deep. The piers were about 200 feet apart, the same as now, but it is not probable that the original channel was of this width. It was probably about 100 feet wide. From old records we find that as an aid to navigation at this primitive harbor, a stone lighthouse had been built by the United States Government, about 1820, some 1,400 feet southeast of the present Buffalo light on the United States south pier. It was located "on a low sandy point," near where the oil house of the Lighthouse Department now stands, south of the south pier. A primitive light "was fixed at the pierhead (south pier) for the use of the steamboat."

Such was the harbor of Buffalo in 1821, and such it remained during the following five years, without any improvements except possibly minor repairs by the State of New York. The facilities it offered, however, appear to have encouraged commerce, for we find that while the number of vessels arriving and departing was 120 in 1820, the number had increased to 359 in 1825. It was in this year, 1825, that the Erie Canal was completed, and it evidently at once stimulated trade. In 1827 the number of vessels arriving and departing had increased to 972, two and three-quarter times as many as in 1825.

In 1826 an appropriation of \$15,000 was made by the Federal Government "for building a pier and repairing an old one at the mouth of Buffalo Creek." (*Ex. Doc. No. 64*, page 176, H. R. 48th Congress, 1st Session.) "Upon that the United States Engineer (General Macomb) took possession and made it a government work." This was the beginning of the United States Government's aid to, and administration of, Buffalo harbor, and it has not failed to continue such aid with increasing liberality up to the present time.

From that time as the needs of commerce developed, projects for the harbor's improvement also developed. First in importance came the improvement and preservation of the entrance channel to Buffalo Creek, or the inner harbor, and the piers protecting that channel. Then came projects for protecting the inner harbor from lake storms, and

finally the development of an outer harbor. This development involved the construction of definite structures, and the history of the harbor can perhaps best be outlined by taking up these structures in chronological order, and giving their history separately. They may be enumerated as follows:

- I. The entrance channel and piers.
- II. Protection works along the lake shore; including (a) the sea wall, and (b) the sand-catch pier.
- III. The breakwaters and outer harbor; including (a) the old breakwater, (b) the breakwater extension to Stony Point, and (c) the north breakwater.

I.

THE ENTRANCE CHANNEL AND PIERS.

The south pier at the entrance proved to be a very troublesome structure to maintain. It was exposed to the full force and fury of the storms of Lake Erie, and the frail structures first put up were washed away again and again. It took some years and much experience to demonstrate that only a structure of tremendous strength could withstand the fierce onslaught of the lake when lashed into fury by a south-wester. To secure a structure of adequate strength consumed a greater part of the Government appropriations up to 1839, when the south pier was finally reported completed. It was in this interval of 13 years (1826-'39) extended, straightened and strengthened. The old timber-work gradually gave place to stone-work of heavy cut stone well cemented, forming a mole or wall with a vertical face towards the entrance channel 14 feet above water. Along the channel below this wall was a heavy stone-paved "towing path" for handling canal-boats, and on the south, or lake side, a paved stone slope extended from the top of the mole to the water's edge. The pier was 1,790 feet long, of which about 1,425 feet was built of stone, forming the mole, and

the remainder was crib-work extending easterly from the inner end of the mole towards the "elbow," where the Watson elevator now stands.

The mole was 14 feet above water, and the tow-path three feet above water on the north side. There was a row of piles on the south side of the mole. The lake end was swelled out to receive a lighthouse, and the stone Buffalo light now standing was erected in 1833. There was a row of close piling along the channel face of the "tow-path."

The pier as thus built stood unchanged, except for repairs to the stone sea-slope and strengthening in weak places from time to time, from 1839 to 1848, in which the Blackwell (City) Ship Canal was constructed by the city, commencing "at the Government land on the south side of Buffalo Creek, and running in a general southerly direction to the south side of the (proposed) south channel, being 200 feet wide and 16 feet deep." The construction of this canal must have required the removal of a part of the timber part of the south pier at its eastern end, and eventually the United States relinquished some of its land and carried out the construction of the dock front of the Lighthouse Department property as it now exists, running southeasterly from the inner end of the mole, at the Life-saving Station, so as to afford a roomy entrance to the canal from the entrance channel.

In the meantime, the north pier of course demanded attention. It was also found necessary to rebuild the other pier on the north side of the entrance channel 200 feet from the south pier. The original north pier, being protected by its big brother on the south, was of cheaper construction, being made of piles and crude timber work filled with brush and stone. The first appropriation, in 1826, provided for this north pier in its provision for "repairing an old pier." The work was begun promptly in 1826, but the pier being sheltered by the more important south pier did not need the care and attention given to the latter. It was probably repaired and rebuilt in more substantial form than the original pile pier, but no records of the work appear to exist. In 1833 the north pier was reported to be "1,250 feet long, 600

feet less advanced than the mole (south pier), built parallel to the mole and 200 feet distant to the north. This is a timber pier filled with stone and is 15 feet broad." In 1882 Mr. C. W. Evans of Buffalo stated "that he [Evans] had let the contract for building the Evans Ship Canal in 1831, that it was commenced in 1832 and finished in 1834; that it was built by the Evans estate, and that so far as he could recollect the end of the north pier then ran up to within 100 feet of the south end of the canal." This pier must have been a frail affair, and it suffered damage from storms frequently, in spite of the protection afforded by the south pier.

In 1839 we find the report: "The north pier needed rebuilding, and an estimate was made to rebuild 2,400 feet at a cost of \$5,016 by cribs 30 feet by six feet by five feet high."

In 1842 Capt. W. G. Williams in his annual report of Oct. 10, 1842 (*H. R. Ex. Doc.*), states that the north pier 675 feet in length has been nearly destroyed and that the water is flowing in through a break at the eastern end." There are no records in regard to the rebuilding of this pier, but it must have been done as recommended in 1839 for a length of about 700 feet easterly from the outer end to about the west line of what is now Dock Street. For the remainder of the distance to the Evans Canal, about 412 feet, there probably remained enough of the original old pile pier to afford protection to the channel. This rebuilding probably occurred later than 1842, after the severe damage reported by Capt. Williams, but only for the vital part, or same 700 feet.

It is to be inferred then, that in the year 1848 the north pier was in a fair condition of repair, so far as needed to protect the channel, and that it formed with its protector, the south pier, a substantial entrance-channel protection. During this time what had been accomplished in the improvement of the entrance channel?

In 1826 it was eight feet deep. In 1832 it was proposed "to excavate the creek to 10 feet; dredge off the 'elbow' jutting out into the creek easterly of the boundary of the United States lands." (At the point now occupied by the Watson Elevator.) In 1835 this had evidently been accom-

plished, and the report of the channel says: "During the year 10 feet of water was obtained throughout the channel." Soon after this nature favored lake commerce and its interests by bringing on a period of high water level which prevailed from 1838 to 1848. The 10-foot channel together with the advantages gained by this high water appears to have relieved all concern as to the channel depth, and, aside from further work at the "elbow" and along the south pier to secure a greater width of channel 10 feet deep in 1845, the entrance channel appears to have been adequate for the commerce of the port, and little or no improvement work was done. The arrivals and departures of vessels had gradually increased, amounting to 9,441, with a tonnage of 3,092,427 in 1852—ten times as great as in 1827.

It will be seen from the foregoing that by 1850 the entrance channel, its piers, and the inner harbor had taken practically the shape in which we find them today, though of course without the extensive improvements in wharves, warehouses, elevators, and other facilities for handling commerce. The Erie Canal was in full operation. The Erie Basin existed as it does today (the stone breakwater forming this basin was built by the State shortly after the completion of the canal); the Blackwell or City Ship Canal was in existence (though afterwards twice extended until it culminated in the Tifft Farm basins in 1884). The improvements made since that time were not then required in the direction of *making* a harbor entrance, but of *maintaining* it and keeping its depth in pace with the ever-increasing size and draft of lake vessels. It was to this end that all further effort was directed. Appropriations were not always forthcoming when needed and often repairs were delayed by lack of funds, but the works were maintained in fair condition. From 1853 to 1864 no appropriations were made, except two small allotments in 1853 and 1855, aggregating less than \$1,000, and during this period came the long and dreary years of the Civil War with its fearful drain upon the life-blood, energy and treasure of the nation. When these were happily passed, aid and attention were again directed to the building up and development of the "works of peace." The

harbor of Buffalo was not overlooked, and in 1868 radical improvements were demanded and taken up.

In the year 1868 the south pier was extended 318 feet, lakeward, from the axis of the lighthouse to check the filling in of the channel by the littoral drift which had "made" beach and shoal water by its accumulation against the south pier as we see it today. The north pier was also repaired, and in 1870 these repairs were reported completed. The entrance channel also required deepening to meet the demands of commerce. This deepening was accomplished in 1869-'70 and secured 14 to 15 feet of water at low stage, equivalent to full 16 feet at mean stage. This channel was maintained by a small amount of dredging in 1874 and 1876.

The year 1876 was a sort of halting point in the Government's operations on the entrance channel and its protecting piers. All its appropriations and attention were for years thereafter—until 1900, to be exact—practically confined to the greater work of the outer breakwater, as will be shown later on.

The south pier remained intact and unchanged through these 24 years, until in 1900-'01 the old "towing path" or low part of the pier was removed and a durable and slightly concrete banquette built in its place for the whole length of the mole, 1,425 feet.

In 1900 the substantial and well-appointed lighthouse depot was built on the south side of the pier, just east of the Buffalo light, and preparations were made for a new life-saving station just east of the lighthouse depot, in place of the station now and for many years located at the inner end of the mole. During the period of 24 years the entrance channel was looked after by the city of Buffalo, and dredged from time to time to secure the deeper water demanded by commerce. The 16-foot channel had grown to an 18-foot channel by 1890, and the "400-footers" which were built in such large numbers in the subsequent decade found this channel inadequate in 1900. In that year the United States Government again assumed control of the entrance channel from the outer harbor to its junction with Buffalo Creek and the City Ship Canal, and dredged the channel so as to

provide 22 feet of water at mean level and about 20 feet at low water. This is the channel through which now annually ten thousand vessels with ten millions of entering and clearing tonnage pass on their way to and from the busy wharves and elevators in the inner harbor.

As we have shown, the south pier and channel have returned to the fostering care of the United States Government after having been left to the care of others, or to care for themselves largely, for nearly a quarter of a century.

But what was the fate of the north pier? Alas! while the Government was striving with the seas of Lake Erie, trying to build an outer breakwater in spite of the angry protest of the lake storms, and had its eyes directed on that work, the north pier fell a victim to a great railroad corporation. This pier was put in repair by the Government in 1870. It rested undisturbed until 1879, when suddenly it was pounced upon by a railroad corporation, and in spite of protests, demonstrations with United States troops, and pleadings, it was held fast and remains a captive to this day.

In 1879 the Delaware, Lackawanna & Western Railroad Company began filling in the low beach back of the north pier with a view to establishing a coal dock there. The railroad company claimed that the United States had no title to the land on which the north pier was built, and that they could prove a right and title in this land, and that having a title to the land they also owned the pier. It acted according to its "convictions."

The pier as it then existed was built upon the sand bottom 10 feet below water. The railroad company wanted 18 feet of water along the pier on which they proposed to build a coal-trestle with chutes for loading vessels lying alongside the pier. Excavating to this draught would result in toppling the pier into the entrance channel and leave them no foundation for their trestle. They were "convinced" that the pier was theirs, and consequently they could do what they pleased with it. They dug it out and threw it away. In its place they built a new pier founded on rock at a depth of 18 feet below water, and 720 feet long from the pier-head. The new pier was half done when the Government turned its

eyes on it. Protests were made, and on Oct. 29, 1879, the work was stopped by Government officials, and United States soldiers took possession by order of the Secretary of War to prevent further work. Then came discussions and parleys between the Secretary of War and the railroad company. The latter presented their case and showed very plainly that they had the best of the argument as it then stood. Said the company's attorneys:

"In the prosecution of this undertaking they (the railroad company) have removed 500 feet of the old pier, have constructed to the surface of the water 315 feet, and were engaged with a force of more than 100 men and two dredges in the work, expecting to complete it this fall (having commenced Oct. 2, 1879), when on the 20th inst. (November, 1879), they were stopped by the Government officials, who took possession by Federal soldiers.

"Waiving the question of legal rights for the present, certain practical considerations make it desirable that the work be continued. In the first place, should it not be, it is probable that, by the storms of the coming season the earth will be washed into the harbor and the spring navigation obstructed. Secondly, the company will sustain great pecuniary loss, and all this will be without benefit to anybody. If we are permitted to go on, a new pier in place of the old one, much better and more permanent, will be put on the *site* of the old one before the winter fairly sets in, the *damages* to future navigation will be guarded against, and the *harbor* much improved. We respectfully request that such *immediate* examination be given by the Department of these *matters* (not including questions of title) as will satisfy it as *to* the facts, and that orders may be given that the railroad company be not further interfered with in the prosecution of this work, the company meantime executing such instruments as may be satisfactory to you, guaranteeing that *whatever* shall be done in this behalf shall not affect the legal status."

The War Department as requested immediately set about securing the "facts." It was found that the railroad company had actually removed 613 feet of the pier, and desired

to build only 107 feet more, or a total length of 720 feet. They had a contract in force for building all of this pier at once, and the harbor interests required the protection of the pier. The company would disturb no other part of the pier, and would provide conveniences at or near the pier for a boathouse and landing for the Government officers. The rights of the United States in the new pier would be conceded by the company to be precisely the same as its rights in the old pier, unprejudiced by any action then taken.

In view of these facts it was advisable to allow the railroad company to complete the pier in accordance therewith. The troops were withdrawn, and the pier and coal trestle thereon completed, and a boathouse built for the United States at the corner of the dock at Coit Slip and Erie Basin, the foundation of the old boathouse at the pierhead being incorporated in the new pier. This was done under a written agreement dated Dec. 9, 1879, between the two interested parties.

The pier was again in existence and performing its functions as a channel protector. Then was begun the matter of proving title, but the railroad company felt no great anxiety in that matter, so long as they held the proverbial "nine points" in possession, and the matter still rests in the courts, while the railroad company continues to enjoy its "possession," now 21 years old!

II.

PROTECTION WORKS ALONG THE LAKE SHORE.

THE SEA WALL.—The work of making Buffalo Creek available as an inner harbor by the construction of the entrance channel and its piers had scarcely been well inaugurated when plans for increasing the security of the harbor demanded attention. Vessels in the creek, and the wharves and warehouses along its banks, were liable to serious injury from heavy seas sweeping across the narrow sand-spit which separated the creek from the lake, extending southward

from the south pier. The presence of the south pier increased this danger, as it increased the liability of storm-driven waters of the lake to pile up in the angle which the pier made with the spit. The danger threatened was so apparent as to demand the consideration of the Government immediately after it assumed control in 1826. In 1829 Capt. Maurice reports: "It was also determined to construct a cross—or sea-wall—nearly at right angles to the eastern end of the mole, so as to enclose the old lighthouse and keeper's house, and prevent the lake from making a breach between these two and the mole." Moreover it was possible that the low sand-spit might be cut through and another river mouth be formed to the southward, to the detriment of the original one or entrance channel. This was the more to be guarded against, as there was even at that early day, 1829, a favored proposition to cut a channel from Buffalo Creek to the lake across the spit, from the bend in the creek where the Louisiana Street bridge is now located, and where the spit was only about 1,000 feet wide. This channel, though never made, was known as the "South Channel" and figured as a desirable proposed improvement for many years, and controlled in plans for other improvements, notably the Blackwell or Ship Canal, the sea-wall and the outer Buffalo harbor.

There is no definite record as to the year in which the decision was reached to construct the sea-wall really built and now in existence in a dilapidated form extending from the eastern end of the mole, or parapet, of the south pier southerly some 5,720 feet. Some few hundred feet of wall may have been built in 1834 to protect the old lighthouse and keeper's dwelling as recommended by Capt. Maurice; as to this records are not clear.

In 1837 the high water level prevailing reported as "the increased height of the lake" (nearly three feet) brought forcibly to view the need of protection, and we find this report: "The whole area of Buffalo harbor and creek, including the entire surface from the mouth of the creek to the projected south channel, is less than 28 acres. If nothing more effectual be done to enlarge the accommodations for

vessels, it will soon be necessary to construct a wall upon the beach or lake side of the peninsula (spit) about one mile in length at a cost of about \$40,000 . . . and the wall in front of the Government land must be completed at a cost of about \$8,000.*

In 1838 an appropriation of \$48,000 was made specifically "for erecting a mound or sea-wall along the peninsula at Buffalo, N. Y.", and the construction of the sea-wall was begun in the same year.

Capt. W. G. Williams, Topographical Engineer, United States Army, officer in charge, reports in 1838: "During the year 1,900 feet of the mound was three parts finished, of the facing wall 400 feet was raised to nine feet, viz.: within three feet of the completed height, and 250 feet was raised to five feet. This has an average width at base of $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet. The sea-wall consists of an earth mound with masonry facing, running from the end of the wall enclosing the light-

* Among miscellaneous documents preserved by the Buffalo Historical Society is found the following "Copy of a Petition to the Secretary of War in relation to the Sea Wall in 1837":

"TO THE HON. THE SECRETARY OF WAR:—The undersigned, a Committee of the Common Council of the City of Buffalo, appointed to communicate with the War Department and to solicit therefrom assistance in counteracting the effects of the elements which are now rapidly working the destruction of Buffalo Harbor, respectfully submit the following facts and solicitations:

"Buffalo Harbor is about a mile and a half long and is nearly parallel to the Lake Shore, with a low peninsula between them, varying in width from 60 to 90 rods. The surface of this peninsula is sand; the substratum clay. On its extreme point stand the Pier and Light House built by the United States. For a few years past the lake has been constantly rising, so that in gales this narrow strip of land is completely inundated and the swells pass unbroken over it with such force as to endanger every vessel in the Harbor. The effect of this frequent inundation has so far been to wear away the lake shore and lower the surface of the peninsula by sweeping into the harbor the sand of which it is composed; and this operation has been going on with great rapidity for the last three years. During the recent gale (22nd Nov.) immense damage was done. The shore was washed away for a considerable distance, much of the loose soil on the peninsula removed, deep channels worn in the hard earth, the United States pier so injured as to require prompt repair, the shipping driven out of the Harbor into the middle of our streets, the wharves and storehouses greatly damaged, and several lives lost.

"The peninsula is now too low to protect the Harbor from the swells of the lake, in anything more than a moderate blow, and every appearance indicates the speedy removal of the earth which still remains. When this happens, and happen it soon must, unless measures are speedily taken to prevent it, there will

house lot and parallel to the shore, 200 feet from it to the southward, to protect that part of the city from inundation. The top of the mound is 14 feet above the surface of the water." This was the beginning of the construction of the sea-wall proper. It was completed for a length of 2,320 feet in 1839. In 1840 "the sea-wall was extended 1,450 feet, and did good service in a gale in which the lake rose six feet eight inches above the normal stage."

Then came the halt in operations owing to no appropriations of funds. In 1845 we find this report: "The violent storm of October, 1844, overthrew much of the sea-wall, and it was found necessary to change the plan of construction, giving it a cross-section at the base of 18 feet, carried up five feet, and then stepped in $1\frac{1}{4}$ feet at regular heights until it had a top width of two feet with a one-foot coping."

The sea-wall apparently remained in the condition in which this storm left it until 1866. In the meantime, steps

be no Harbor at Buffalo, the money expended by the United States in building the Pier and Light House will be lost, and there will be no connection, whatever, between the navigation of this lake and the Erie Canal. Indeed, the entire commerce of the whole chain of Western lakes will have no harbor whatever at their northern extremity, the only point through which they now connect with the Atlantic coast. At this time all the Steam Boats (more than one hundred in number), together with all the ships, brigs and schooners on the Lakes, have no other resort than Buffalo Harbor for business or shelter at the north end of Lake Erie, and through no other point than Buffalo can they connect their business with the Erie Canal. In case of war with England the loss of this Harbor would be to the Government an incalculable injury.

"Under these circumstances the Common Council have thought proper to make to the War Department a plain statement of facts, having the fullest confidence that nothing further will be necessary to ensure the prompt and vigorous action of that Department, to secure with the least possible delay this all-important harbor. Another year may destroy it entirely.

"The ground has been viewed by practical engineers who are of opinion that at a moderate expense a sea-wall can be constructed, beginning at the present United States Pier and running up the peninsula parallel to the lake shore, of sufficient height and strength to serve as a perfect protection.

"For the purpose of getting such a wall constructed, or some other equally good protection, the Common Council are about to petition to Congress for an appropriation. Preparatory to an action of Congress on this subject it is earnestly desired that you will be pleased to direct the necessary surveys and estimates to be made, by engineers in the service of the Government, at the earliest possible day, that the subject may be acted on before the close of the present session. Not the least doubt is entertained that such a statement of facts will be presented by the engineers as to secure the influence of your department with Congress in inducing them to speedily make the necessary appropriation."

were taken to secure title to the land upon which this then important harbor work was being built. Under date of May 2, 1864, the Legislature of the State of New York passed an act authorizing the City of Buffalo "to lay out, make, and open a public ground in said city 130 feet wide along the shore or margin of Lake Erie, for the purpose of maintaining thereon and protecting a sea-wall or breakwater."* This act, briefly, authorized the city to take the private property along the line of the sea-wall, built or to be built, from the southeast end of the United States land to the north side of the so-called South Channel for a width of 130 feet, and that after such property should be acquired the city might deed it in part or in whole to the United States, on condition "that the United States shall maintain and keep in repair on said land the said sea-wall or breakwater. No dwelling-house, warehouse, shop, barn, shed or other building shall be erected upon, moved on to, or permitted to remain upon the land mentioned." The design was at this time to continue the sea-wall to the "South Channel," which would have given it a total length of about 7,000 feet.

In 1866, 1,303 feet were built, and in 1867 the sea-wall was reported "4,081 feet built with coping, 1,319 feet without coping, and foundation laid, without anything above it, for 321 feet more, leaving about 1,020 feet of the original design upon which nothing was done." The further extension of this wall does not appear to have been required at that time.

With the exception of some very minor repairs, no further work was done on the sea-wall. The construction was ordered stopped by the Chief of Engineers in 1867, and in 1871 a balance of some \$24,000 of sea-wall funds was re-appropriated and applied to other works. The total amount expended on the sea-wall was \$103,305.96.

The sea-wall as built above the foundation reached a point about 400 feet south of South Michigan Street, and it is still in existence, though wrecked in many places where the "squatters," whose squalid huts line the wall, have

* *Laws of N. Y.*, 87 Sess. Chap. 547, p. 1200, on file in Law Library at Buffalo, N. Y., with tracing of map.

robbed it of its stone for building purposes. The provision of the legislative act that no buildings should be built on the land acquired by the city was grossly neglected, as the squatter settlement thereon now testifies.

The abandonment of the sea-wall construction was decided upon advisedly by the Government. Plans for an outer breakwater and harbor had become well developed and decided upon, and a greater outer breakwater would afford all of the protection gained by the sea-wall and much more. There were evidently persons and interests, however, who regarded the stoppage of further sea-wall construction by the United States Government with misgivings. This is evidenced by a second legislative enactment under date of May 14, 1870, in general intent identical with the act of May 2, 1864, except that it provided that "such public ground may be of such width and may extend for such distance along the shore or margin of such lake within said city as the said Common Council may deem expedient," instead of defining the land to be acquired as in the first act. Also, "the said lands shall be and remain a public grounds for the purposes of protecting the harbor of said city and the lands adjacent thereto from the encroachment of said lake, and the said Common Council may at any time thereafter erect and maintain thereon or on any part thereof a sea-wall or breakwater."

The strip of land whose acquirement by the city was authorized by the two legislative enactments referred to was actually acquired from the north line of outlot 36, the boundary of United States property at the south pier, to the proposed "South Channel," and 130 feet wide. None of the land was ever deeded to the United States, probably because the United States plainly showed its intention to abandon the sea-wall by actually beginning the construction of the outer breakwater in 1868. This tangible proof of intention allayed all fears as to the safety of the harbor, as the breakwater structure progressed, for the Common Council was never called upon "to erect or maintain a sea-wall" as provided by the act of 1870. The land is known as the "sea-wall strip"; and in this year of 1902, the city, through a

harbor commission duly appointed, is striving to clear its apparently clouded title to this strip, with a view to converting it into a grand lake-front street now desirable and necessary for the development of dock facilities in the outer harbor, whose shore line yet lies in an entirely unimproved condition and presents to the eye the same stretch of barren beach that greeted the eyes of the pioneers of Buffalo.*

THE SAND-CATCH PIER.—The sea-wall was the only work of real importance erected for the protection of the harbor during its existence prior to the final culmination in the construction of the great outer breakwater. There were other works proposed, however, aiming to remedy an evil which came after the construction of the south pier. This was the accumulation of sand and littoral drift on the beach south of the pier, and stopped in its course towards Niagara River by the pier. In time the beach extended outward, shoal water formed around the head of the pier, and during storms the sands accumulated on these shoals were carried into the entrance channel.

Catch-sand piers or jetties of tight sheet piling were suggested, distributed along the beach as far as the proposed South Channel, $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the pier, to arrest and hold the moving sands.

In 1867 a Board of Engineers, convened to formulate plans for improving Buffalo harbor, proposed among other improvements "to open a canal 2,820 feet long and 200 feet wide from 14 feet of water in the lake to 14 feet of water in Buffalo Creek, at a point $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles south of the lighthouse pier [the site of the long proposed 'South Channel'], with

* It is also to be noted that the Legislature of the State by an act passed in April, 1898, authorized the City of Buffalo "to use or occupy" the sea-wall strip presumably for such public purposes as it saw fit. It was formerly owned and controlled by the city only for the specific purpose of "maintaining and protecting a sea-wall or breakwater along the shore or margin of Lake Erie." It can now be used for the purposes of a grand highway along the splendid protected outer harbor which has been built by the General Government. Such a highway is a necessity to the proper development and use of the harbor, and it seems almost providential that the land for it should have been acquired for it in the early days.

two close pile piers 20 feet wide and five feet above water, one 1,058 and the other 1,000 feet in length, to protect the channel from the shore [lake] to the 14-foot curve." These tight piers would serve the double purpose of protecting a new harbor entrance and of checking the sand movement towards the south pier and entrance channel. The Board's proposal was not approved by the Chief of Engineers. In 1869, Major Harwood, then officer in charge, advocated changes in the plan proposed by the board to the effect that "the new channel should be at right angles to the stone line, and that from the end of the South Channel pier an extension should be built at an angle to the direction of the heaviest seas for 500 feet, the outer end resting in 20 feet of water."

Again in 1873 the same officer reported that the continued accretion of sand along the shore and pier south of the lighthouse made it advisable to build the south pier of the proposed South Channel as a means of stopping the flow of sand to the southward. The matter was considered of sufficient import to refer to another board of engineers, which was convened in 1873-'4. This board recommended the construction of a pile pier 10 feet wide and six feet above water, commencing at a point 550 feet south of the proposed south pier of the South Channel, connected by piling with the railroad bulkhead on the shore at that locality, and extending out to the 12-foot depth in the lake; thence prolonged by crib work 20 feet wide and six feet above water to make a total length of pier of 1,270 feet. The board also reported: "It is expected that other jetties of slight construction, not to exceed 300 feet in length, may be needed at different points between the site of the one now proposed and the south United States pier, to arrest the transfer of sand and prevent abrasion of the beach during the period in which covering-works (meaning the breakwater) are in process of construction."

The same board reconvened later in 1874, August and September, and changed their location for the proposed sand-catch pier "to a point on the shore line opposite to the south end of the Blackwell Canal." The canal at this time

ended at the location of the proposed South Channel. This board also recommended that "the old South Channel, approved in the project of the board of 1868, should not be built by the Government as it is purely a matter of local interest."

The construction of the sand-catch pier recommended by the board was begun in the fall of 1874, 650 feet being built that year. In 1875, 220 feet were added, making the pier 870 feet long. As it was found, however, that no sand was arrested by it, its construction was stopped. This sand-catch pier exists today. In 1897 it was further extended to a total length of 1,148 feet, to comply with a special provision of the Act of Congress appropriating money for Buffalo harbor in 1896. It has not, however, proved useful in any way, and the lake beach being now protected by the breakwater, the sand-catch pier has lost all value as a harbor work, and all kindred piers or jetties if built would now serve no useful purpose.

At the same time that the sand-catch pier was begun in 1874, an experimental jetty of piles and plank was built extending 400 feet into the lake, at a point about 900 feet north of South Michigan Street. It stood a few months, long enough to demonstrate its uselessness, and was carried away by winter storms in 1875.

III.

THE BREAKWATERS AND OUTER HARBOR.

It is apparent from the perusal of the foregoing account of the Government's operations for improving Buffalo harbor, that it had a fixed purpose and confidence in its purpose, to overcome all of the menaces to the safety of the harbor by constructing a barrier against all destructive seas of Lake Erie in the form of a great breakwater well out from the shore line, so as to afford at the same time a roomy outer harbor and anchorage ground between it and the shore which it would so effectually protect.

The desirability of an outer harbor for Buffalo was early

recognized, and this could only be secured through the medium of a breakwater so located and built as to cut off a portion of the lake in which ships could find safe anchorage or moorings and which could be reached under any conditions of weather. As the Buffalo breakwater is one of the great breakwaters of the world, it is well to have a clear understanding of what a breakwater is, and what, from an engineering standpoint, the building of such a structure as the Buffalo breakwater implies.

A breakwater is a structure of any kind which serves to break the force of the waves and protect a harbor or anchorage against them. Some of the greatest and most difficult engineering works ever conceived and carried out by man have been breakwaters, and they have been constructed with a great variety of forms and materials. When an engineer is called upon to construct a breakwater at any particular harbor, he must decide a number of important questions.

First, as to location. This is largely a matter of judgment in which is involved the character and amount of the commerce of the port both present and future, the depths of water, the funds available, etc. It is rare that a breakwater is built in the location first selected for it, unless it is built at once. In the course of time new conditions are constantly being developed which bring about modifications in plans.

Second, as to the character of the structure. In deciding upon this the engineer must consider whether the breakwater is to be used simply to cover an anchorage, or to serve for mooring purposes, or as a wharf for loading and unloading passengers and goods. He must be governed largely by the character of materials available, by the depth of water, the force and violence of storms to which it will be exposed, and the character of the foundation on which it must be built. The method of carrying on the work will depend on the prevailing conditions of the sea and weather, and whether the structure abuts on the shore or is detached therefrom.

One of the simplest types of breakwater is that at Portland, England. This is about 8,000 feet long, and consists simply of a mound of rubble stone and cost about \$6,000,000,

or \$750 per foot. The breakwater at Plymouth, England, is similar to that at Portland, but on account of its greater exposure it has been found necessary to cover the top above low tide with granite block-paving of huge stones set in mortar. This structure is 5,100 feet long, and has cost about \$8,000,000, or nearly \$1,600 per foot.

In our country the Delaware breakwater is of somewhat similar construction. The old breakwater there is simply a mound of stone constantly added to until it has reached a condition approaching stability. The new breakwater being built there is formed of a rubble mound up to low water; above this are great stones set carefully in place on horizontal beds. This has just been finished, and by the same contractors who are building the big breakwater. Rubble mound breakers are often capped with huge concrete blocks, and sometimes covered on the exposed side with these blocks. Those at Algiers, Port Said, and Alexandria are of this character.

Many breakwaters have been built which consist of a rubble mound coming up to about low water surmounted by a structure of masonry in place arranged for the transit of, or loading and unloading of, persons and goods. This superstructure, by extending well above high water, gives more complete protection to the water area which it covers. Probably the most celebrated breakwater of this type is at Cherbourg, France. It is 11,880 feet long, has a gun battery at each end and one in the middle, was 70 years in building and cost about \$13,000,000, or about \$1,100 per foot. There are many structures of this general type, among which may be mentioned Holyhead, Alderney, Marseilles, Genoa, Bastia and Boulogne.

Another type which has developed of late years finds its most noted illustration at Colombo, Island of Ceylon. After passing through various contingencies and being modified as experience dictated, the form of construction at last adopted was to build a rubble mound to a depth of 20 feet and upon this to raise a superstructure 50 feet wide at the base and about 35 feet high, all formed of huge concrete blocks set in place on sloping beds. There are a number of

other very interesting examples of breakwaters, built mostly of concrete blocks, and there is every probability that hereafter concrete will be used more and more for breakwater construction.

In the early days of the nineteenth century, when the necessity for breakwaters at some of the lake harbors became recognized, the only ones in existence were in the older countries of the world, and those were of stone and masonry, costing from \$500 to \$1,500 and over per foot. Such expensive structures were beyond the financial resources of our people at the time. With true American adaptiveness, however, another type was designed of far less cost which has been extensively built on the lakes and has done good service. This was a timber crib filled with rubble stone. The abundance and cheapness of timber, and the fact that the fresh waters of the Great Lakes are free from the teredo and other marine destroyers justified structures of this character.

The era of cheap timber is now about over. Our resources are greater, quarrying and transportation of stone are now vastly less expensive than formerly, and concrete made with our excellent and cheap American cements, have all combined to declare the days of perishable wooden breakwaters about at an end. We can still, however, with perfect propriety, if circumstances demand it, build a breakwater with wooden and stone substructure, for in the fresh waters of the lakes submerged timber is practically imperishable, as far as decay is concerned.

In the Government records of Buffalo harbor, the first official mention of an outer breakwater was in 1835 in a report of the officer in charge, recommending a breakwater to the north of the entrance and extending to Bird Island. In this year Lt. T. S. Brown, Top. Engr., made a survey of Buffalo and Black Rock harbors, with a view to constructing an outer harbor suitable for commerce. The project was "to continue the Black Rock breakwater from Bird Island (its then terminus) to the southward to a point 1,000 feet north of the new lighthouse." (The Buffalo light on the end

of the south pier.) This was to be a breakwater of crib-work filled with stone.

Again, in 1839, a survey was made and another plan for a breakwater north of the harbor entrance was proposed, "from a point 500 feet north and 30 feet east of the outer end of the mole (south pier), when extended into 23 feet of water, and carry it down 330 yards towards Bird Island at Black Rock in from 10 to 25 feet of water."

In 1884 a modification of the plan brought out in 1839 was recommended by Col. Abert, who advised "a breakwater at the Horseshoe Reef about 2,650 feet from the northern shore; the breakwater to be 3,700 feet in length, its outward end 2,100 feet from Black Rock pier, and its eastern end at about 800 feet from a proposed extension of the present south pier. . . . This would give a harbor 7,400 feet long, 2,100 feet wide, with 14 to 20 feet of water. . . ."

In October, 1844, a violent storm overthrew much of the sea-wall. This emphasized the importance of providing harbor protection more adequate than that provided by the sea-wall, and a board of engineers was appointed to decide on a project for an outer breakwater. This board proposed two projects: 1. "A detached breakwater 5,100 feet long to the *north* of the lighthouse pier, its southern end 2,200 feet west of the end of the lighthouse pier, the north end about 2,800 feet from the shore" 2. "A detached breakwater *south* of the lighthouse pier, 6,050 feet in length, the north end of which would be 2,500 feet s. s. w. of the end of the lighthouse pier, and the south end about 3,600 feet from shore" The board recommended the southern breakwater as being the more suitable, but stated that it might become necessary at some future day either to build the northern one, extend the southern one to Four-mile Point (Stony Point), or connect its southern end with the shore, so as to protect the proposed south channel"

In these projects for a breakwater north of the channel entrance, the influence of Black Rock, the former rival of Buffalo, was still apparent, and also the influence of the important Erie Canal interests. The Erie Basin and the stone breakwater which forms it did not exist in 1845. They were

built several years later, after 1850, being part of a plan devised by the State Canal Board to connect Black Rock Harbor with Buffalo Creek, through the Erie Basin; a plan probably decided upon when it was found that the United States was in favor of building its breakwater to the south of the entrance channel.

It may be noted here that the views of the United States Board of Engineers as above cited were a true prophecy. The south breakwater has been extended to "Four-mile Point" (Stony Point), and a north breakwater has been built on approximately the site recommended by the board. The realization came 50 years later. But 23 years were to elapse after the report of the engineer before a breakwater structure was to be commenced, 23 very eventful years during some of which the Government had all it could do to preserve its integrity, and the enormous expenses of the Civil War left it nothing to expend on rivers and harbors.

During those 23 years the commerce of Buffalo grew very much. In 1835, when the subject of a breakwater was first officially mentioned, the vessels entering and leaving Buffalo numbered 3,280. In 1845 this number had increased to about 4,500, and from that time on it jumped with greater strides. In 1856 the number of entrances and clearances was 8,128, and in the next six years, to 1862, it doubled, being in that year 16,390. This was the high water mark as far as numbers went, and it is worth remembering that it meant during the season of navigation an average daily arrival of 34 ships, and the departure of a like number. From 1862 the number of arrivals and clearances gradually decreased, but at the same time the average size of the vessels increased with still greater rapidity, so that at the present time, 1902, the number of arrivals and clearances is about two thirds of what it was in 1862, while the total tonnage of the vessels is nearly three times as great.

THE OLD BREAKWATER.—In 1868, the Civil War being over, the Government again took up the work of improving its rivers and harbors, and the breakwater at Buffalo was commenced. A board of engineers in that year formulated a project "to construct a detached breakwater in about 27 feet

of water, commencing at a point 2,500 feet from the lighthouse and on the prolongation of the lighthouse pier, and running southerly 4,000 feet on a course generally parallel with the shore line. This was to be of timber crib-work about 36 feet wide, filled with stone, with superstructure carried five feet above the highest water known. The board's project was approved, and the construction of what is now known as the old breakwater, the section beginning at the south side of the entrance to Buffalo Creek, was begun. By June, 1869, 150 feet of cribs had been placed, and the construction progressed with fair rapidity and few mishaps, until a gale in September, 1872, displaced some 315 feet of incomplete crib-work. The completed breakwater was then 2,400 feet long, and afforded fair protection to the entrance channel between the piers.

Then followed encounters with difficulties and misfortunes from storms. The lake bottom was found to have changed from solid gravel to soft clay, necessitating much extra labor and expense in securely founding the cribs. The misplaced cribs could not be straightened, and formed the irregular part of the structure known as "the ice-breaker." In 1873-'4 a board of engineers was convened to devise plans for overcoming the difficulties encountered, and at the same time it modified the project for a detached breakwater 4,000 feet long and recommended that it be extended "3,600 feet on the same line, giving a total length of 7,600 feet, from its southern end, and leaving a fine-weather opening of 150 feet; a shore arm should be run, at an angle of 45 degrees to the shore line, until it reached the sand-catch pier prolonged to meet it." This modification of the project was approved, and the construction went on from year to year. The main part of the structure was completed, 7,608 feet long, in 1893, a quarter of a century after beginning the work.

The whole structure was built of hemlock timber cribs covered with white pine timber superstructure, all filled with stone. The crib-work under water is practically indestructible, so far as decay is concerned, but the superstructure, after about 20 years of exposure to weather, becomes

weak and shows serious decay. Before the south end was completed, therefore, the north end had "lived its life" and required rebuilding above water level. This rebuilding became imperative in 1888, but new conditions presented themselves. The cost of white pine had advanced greatly, and the cost of Portland cement concrete was fast being reduced by the rapidly increasing production of cement. A concrete superstructure would be practically indestructible. The conditions were carefully weighed, and Capt. F. A. Mahan, then officer in charge, recommended a new superstructure built of concrete. His recommendation was approved by a board of engineers, and the result was that 1,900 feet at the north end of the breakwater was rebuilt with a solid concrete superstructure in 1889, the first structure of its kind built on the Great Lakes, if not in the United States.

In 1891 another 1,900 feet of the old wornout timber superstructure was replaced with solid concrete, and in 1899-1900 a length of 1,015 feet. The "ice breaker" section between the 1,900-foot sections before mentioned, was rebuilt with concrete, not solid, but of the shell construction described further on in this paper. This placed two thirds of the length of the old breakwater in permanent form, and before many years the remaining third will be placed in the same permanent condition.

In 1893, 800 feet of the proposed shore arm at the southern end of the old breakwater was built complete and 300 feet more partially built. All was hopelessly wrecked by a great storm in October, 1893. In this disaster the weak character of the lake bottom played an important part, just as it did in 1872. We have the old saying, "It's an ill wind that blows nobody good." The sequel to this great wind-storm proves the saying true, in this instance at least. The wrecking of the shore arm led to important results, and secured for Buffalo a greater harbor. The growth of commerce and crowded condition of the inner harbor had by this time, 1893, brought commercial interests to the conviction that the outer harbor as being formed was too small. The building of the shore arm brought regret, as it put in the remote future all prospects for the consummation of the

longed-for greater harbor extending to Stony Point. After the wrecking, hope revived, and the commercial interests combined in urging the Government to change its project and give Buffalo the outer harbor it needed. The appeal was heeded, and a board of engineers convened in 1895 to consider and decide the matter. The board decided "that the breakwater should be extended all the way to Stony Point." Buffalo was at last to have her greater outer harbor. The report of the board was made just before one of the authors of this paper* took charge of the harbor works in October, 1895.

The board of engineers recommended the construction of a breakwater, or rather a system of breakwaters, extending from the southern end of the old breakwater to Stony Point. They were to be four in number, *en echelon*, with openings between them of approximately 400 feet. In construction they were to be simple mounds of rubble stone brought to about eight feet above the water level. A strong foundation was to be secured by dredging the mud of the lake bottom down to the rock, and filling the trench so made with gravel or sand. The plans as made by the board of engineers appeared to Major Symons to be defective in several important particulars, and he called attention to these defects in a report, and proposed remedies.

First. They restricted too greatly and unnecessarily the deep water area inside them. To remedy this it was proposed to build the breakwater farther out in the lake, in the location now occupied by the breakwater, giving an additional area inside it of 130 acres, all of water about 30 feet deep.

Second. The numerous openings were not necessary for circulation of water in the harbor or for convenience of navigation, and they were a detriment in that they permitted the waves to enter the harbor, and so lessen the protection given to the waters behind the structures. To remedy this it was proposed to build the structure with but one main opening near its southern end, and a small opening at the northern end for the use of tugs and small vessels.

* Major T. W. Symons, Corps of Engineers, U. S. A.

Third. The form of cross-section given to the rubble mound, a simple heap of stones, was not satisfactory. Experience elsewhere had shown, and it was recognized by the board, that such a heap of stones would be constantly disturbed and washed down by the waves, and would require constant additions to be made to it to keep it up to the desired height, and that with these additions and under the influence of storm action, the mound would gradually reach what would be a section of permanent stability. This section of permanent stability was known—why not adopt it and build to its lines in the first place? This was recommended, and it was further recommended that the top, the lake face to a depth of 15 feet, and the harbor face to a depth of 10 feet, be covered with large selected stones carefully set in place to the lines of this section of stability.

Fourth. The excavation of the mud bottom of the lake and back filling the trench so made with gravel for a foundation for a rubble mound did not appeal to Major Symons as necessary. Equally good results, and at far less cost, it was believed, could be attained by founding the stone structure directly upon the natural mud bottom and letting it settle down into the mud as much as it would. By doing the work in proper continuity all danger of unequal settlement could be guarded against. This was recommended, and it may be stated here that in making the estimates of cost, an allowance was made for an average settlement of the structure into the mud of about 12½ feet. As a matter of fact it has settled into the mud but about two or three feet.

Fifth. The plan of the board called for the entire structure to be made of quarried stone, in conformity with universally prevailing custom. This was very expensive and prohibitive of the new plan which must not exceed the old plan in cost. To meet this situation, it was decided that while stone was necessary on the outside of the structure, it was not necessary on the inside, and this inside, the great mass or hearting of the mound, could be made of some cheaper material, as gravel, quantities of which were known to be available. This was recommended and adopted, and it

may be stated here that the contract price for stone is about \$1 per cubic yard, while the gravel hearting costs 13 cents per yard. This represents a saving of about \$50 per foot of the breakwater. The gravel hearting is protected from wave action by its depth and by the stone which encloses it on the top and sides. This design, which I believe has never before been adopted in breakwater construction, has been eminently successful.

Sixth. One serious defect of any rubble-stone breakwater is that it does not afford facilities for mooring ships. This is important at Buffalo, as many ships and consorts are constantly moored at the breakwater during the period of navigation. To meet this demand it was considered that the old breakwater, 7,600 feet long, would furnish all the mooring facilities required at the northern end of the harbor, and that if there were provided at the southern end of the harbor several thousand feet of breakwater adapted to mooring purposes, the demand in this respect would be fully met.

It was recommended to build about 5,600 feet of timber crib breakwater similar to the old structure, about half on each side of the main southern entrance. To provide suitable foundation for this timber crib structure, it was recommended that a trench be dug to the solid rock and back-filled with gravel. The new breakwater, therefore, was to be of stone and gravel for 7,250 feet of its length, and of timber crib filled with stone for the remaining 5,600 feet.

The estimated cost of the breakwater proposed was not greater than the estimated cost of the vastly inferior works proposed by the board of engineers, and all of Major Symons's recommendations were approved by the Chief of Engineers and the War Department.

The River and Harbor Act of June 3, 1896, contained the following item:

Improving harbor at Buffalo, New York: Improvement by extending the breakwater southerly to Stony Point: *Provided*, That contracts may be entered into by the Secretary of War for such materials and work as may be necessary to carry out such extension and the plan of such improvement as modified in the report of the Chief of Engineers for the improvement of that harbor for 1895,

such contracts to provide that the sand-catch pier be extended to the bulkhead line, at a cost not exceeding \$35,000, and that the northerly section of said extension to Stony Point and the sand-catch pier extension shall first be constructed, to be paid for as appropriations may from time to time be made by law, in the aggregate not to exceed \$2,200,000: *And provided further*, That in making such contracts the Secretary of War shall not obligate the Government to pay in any one fiscal year, beginning July 1st, 1897, more than 25 per centum of the whole amount authorized to be expended.

The merits and needs of Buffalo had at last received full recognition, and her greater outer harbor was assured to her. Plans and specifications were at once prepared for the great work, and a contract made for the whole work with Hughes Bros. & Bangs of Syracuse, N. Y. Under this contract 5,000 feet of the breakwater extending southerly from the small entrance off the south end of the old breakwater was to be of the rubble mound or stone type, and in continuation thereof there was to be about 5,000 feet of timber crib breakwater, the two forming what is now known as the South Harbor section, about 10,000 feet long. This would bring the breakwater to the south harbor entrance 600 feet wide. Beginning at the south side of this entrance there was to be a timber crib breakwater about 2,800 feet long, to the shore at Stony Point. This is now known as the Stony Point section.

The contractors began the construction in May, 1897, and the work has continued uninterruptedly, except during the winter, up to the present time. The Stony Point section was completed on June 30, 1899. The timber portion of the South Harbor section was completed on October 30, 1900, for a length of about 2,800 feet. The length of this portion as projected was reduced 2,000 feet, it having been found advisable in 1898 to increase the length of the stone, or rubble mound, construction by this amount, making it about 7,000 feet long instead of 5,000 feet. The rubble mound, or stone, breakwater has been completed for 4,000 feet, and will be wholly completed in 1903.

BREAKWATER TO STONY POINT.—There is one thing of interest attaching to this work which concerns the great in-

dustry—the Lackawanna Steel Company's plant—established at Stony Point. It will be noted that the act authorizing the work required among other things "that the northerly section of said extension to Stony Point . . . shall first be constructed." This was put in for certain reasons unnecessary to specify here. It stood directly in the way of the proper and most economical conduct of the work, as it was desired to carry on at the same time the work of building both types of breakwater, the stone, or rubble mound, and the timber crib. To build the latter, it was necessary to commence at the shore at Stony Point. In every way it was desirable to commence at both ends and work towards the center. But the law seemed to prohibit this, and it was necessary to devise some way to get around the law. Fortunately, there was on hand a balance of an old appropriation which was available for the work and which had no such annoying restrictions on it. It was recommended and approved that this balance be used in starting the work at Stony Point. This was done, and the work thereafter kept up with the regular appropriations. The Stony Point section was in consequence completed several years before it would have been, had a strict and literal interpretation of the law been complied with. This Stony Point section in itself forms a beautiful and well-protected harbor, and it was in consequence of this good and available harbor that the Lackawanna Steel Company decided to locate their great works in Buffalo and at Stony Point.

As these two types of breakwater possess unique features, a brief description of the details may be of interest.

The Stone, or Rubble Mound, Breakwater.—In building the rough stone, or rubble mound, breakwater, the first thing done is to deposit from dump scows two rows of small stone along the lake and harbor foot of the slopes of the mound as it will be when completed. This stone is not allowed to be over a foot in any dimension, and has been so prescribed because it has been found that a paving of small stone tends to prevent larger stone from settling far into the mud, in fact, acts as a mattress. These rows, which are 135 feet apart "from out to out," are brought up by ordinary rubble-

stone to a height of about six feet, and the space between them is then filled nearly to their tops with gravel dug out of the Niagara River and transported in and dumped from dump scows. Other rows of stone are then deposited to the established grade lines and the space between partially filled with gravel as before. This is kept up until the gravel reaches an elevation 10 feet below water level; above this no gravel is used. Everything above this 10-foot level is heavy stone put in place by derricks.

When the lake side reaches an elevation of 18 feet and the harbor side of 10 feet below water, an off-set is made for the foot of the large capping-stones which cover the mound like a huge pavement. These capping-stones are uniformly six feet thick, quarried so as to fit together like huge paving-stones. They vary in size and weigh from three to 14 tons each, averaging about seven tons. All are quarried at Windmill Point, Canada, from the thick strata of flint limestone found there. The rubble portion is then built up to above the water line, approximately to the grade required for the placing of the capping-stones. The beds for the capping-stones are made with small stone, and they are set with powerful derricks and guided into place by men feeling with rods and observing them through water telescopes. In this way the covering of the great stones is slowly brought up to the water surface after which the placing proceeds more easily and rapidly until the whole is completed.

Allusion has been made to the gravel hearting as a unique feature of this breakwater. It has another unique feature, and that is in the method of placing the capping-stones. In every other known instance the large stones forming the top of the breakwater have been placed horizontally on their beds, and the desired cross-section has been secured by stepping them back. In our Buffalo breakwater, the blocks are placed normal to the surface so that the exposed surface of the structure has no steps but is comparatively smooth. Angle stones are quarried for the base of the harbor slope and for the upper angles, and the result is that the capping-stones are all keyed together and support each other, and the waves can get no pronounced bite anywhere.

This description of the stone, or rubble mound, breakwater at Buffalo is very brief and very simple, but there is a great deal of engineering work connected with it, in seeing that the proper alignment and cross-sections are kept, directing and keeping track of every scow-load of material dumped, determining the amounts of material placed in the work, and directing and passing upon the placing of every individual capping-stone.

During the year 1900 there were two abnormally heavy storms, and the completed portion of the breakwater endured their onslaughts without the slightest damage being suffered.

Timber Crib Breakwater.—The fact that great trouble had been experienced with unequal settlement of the cribs in the construction of the old breakwater, combined with the further fact that the shore-arm built in 1893 was wrecked by a storm in the fall of the same year, due to the inadequacy of sustaining power in the soft clay lake bottom, all indicated that it would not do to build a timber crib breakwater directly upon the lake bottom. So in planning for the timber crib structure, it was required that a trench be excavated through the mud and clay forming the lake bottom down to the solid rock, somewhat wider at the bottom than the crib structure, and with such side slopes as the material would take, and back-fill this with gravel to the level of the lake bottom. This was a pretty large undertaking, and required a special dredge, as the water was 30 feet deep, and the mud and clay 30 to 40 feet thick to the rock, making it necessary to do much of the work at depths of 60 to 70 feet. For this purpose a huge clam-shell dredge was built, designed to handle 10 cubic yards of mud at one operation. Keeping this dredge at work in the fixed location, and making exactly the cross-section of trench desired without going outside the limits, was a work of considerable difficulty and required great care and patience.

The filling of the trench was done with gravel dredged from the Niagara River near the International bridge. When this filling reached the original lake bottom, it was surmounted by a flat-shaped stone mound built up to the

height of 22 feet below water level. This mound was 50 feet wide, 14 feet wider than the cribs to be sunk on it, and it was carefully leveled off. Then the cribs, 36 feet wide, 22 feet high, and 180 feet long, made of 12 by 12-inch timbers, were towed out and sunk in place, filled with stone and covered with the superstructure of timber and stone, six feet above water on the harbor side and 12 feet above water on the lake side. A small amount of rip-rap was placed along each side of the structure; and it is intended as rapidly as practicable to keep on placing rip-rap along the lake front of this timber crib breakwater until it reaches a condition of practical stability well up to, or above, water level. This was not planned at first, but experience demonstrates that it will be safer to have this enrockment, which will somewhat break up the waves before they reach the vertical face of the timber structure.

There are few breakwaters that have been built exactly as planned and been found entirely safe and satisfactory, and that building at Buffalo is no exception. It was hoped for a long time that there would be no fly in our ointment, but it got there. It blew in on the tail end of the great West Indian storm of Sept. 11-12, 1901, which so completely wrecked Galveston and then made its way up through the Mississippi Valley and paid us a visit on its passage to the North Atlantic. This storm practically wrecked the superstructure on about 2,000 feet of our timber crib portion of the South Harbor section.

The Galveston storm was followed ten weeks later, Nov. 21, 1900, by another wind-storm of abnormal severity, which took hold of the already partially wrecked superstructure and played havoc with it. About 1,500 feet of the superstructure was razed nearly to the water's edge. Luckily the substructure, or portion below the water, stood all right, and in excellent condition to put on a new superstructure. The portion of the breakwater wrecked is in the deepest water and directly in the axis of Lake Erie, and was attacked by the waves with a ferocity far exceeding that with which the

old breakwater ever had been attacked. The vertical front of the structure received the waves and deflected them upwards to a height estimated at from 100 to 150 feet, and the great masses of water so deflected came down with such force upon the deck as to crush it in and to break great timbers 12 inches square as if they were matches. The deck once broken in, the waves and falling water were enabled to wash out the stone filling and get at and demolish the back walls and crush and tear out the cross and longitudinal ties. A considerable portion of the superstructure built 12 feet high was carried away, down to the ordinary level of the lake.

In the engineering world, as well as in most other worlds, we learn as much, and perhaps more, by failures as by successes, and the failure of our timber crib breakwater has taught several important things about breakwaters. One of the lessons that it has taught is that in the same vicinity, and with water of nearly identical depth and with the same general exposure, two breakwaters, or sections of the same breakwater, may be attacked by the waves with far differing degrees of ferocity. It is difficult to conceive why the new breakwater should be attacked with so much greater violence than the old one, but it is so beyond a doubt.

Another thing that we have learned is that the deck of a breakwater is a more important part of it and requires greater strength than we had previously understood to be necessary, particularly in the case of a breakwater with a vertical front wall. The failure has also taught many minor points in regard to construction, and in particular it has taught that wood is a very poor material with which to build a breakwater in comparison with stone or concrete.

Plans were at once made for the repairs of the breakwater. They were begun in 1901, and the work will be completed by July, 1902. It has always been proposed with these wooden breakwaters of the Great Lakes that when their superstructure became so rotten that they could no longer be depended upon to resist the action of the winds and waves, they should be replaced with superstructures of masonry.

It has never been deemed practicable, where the struc-

ture was not founded upon rock bottom, to put the masonry superstructure on when it was first built, on account of the liability to excessive and unequal settlement, which would tend to crack and damage the masonry. About two thirds of the old breakwater has received a concrete superstructure, a portion of which was put on under the direction of Major Symons last-year. When we came to consider what should be done with the wrecked breakwater near Stony Point, three general methods of repair suggested themselves. One was to rebuild the wooden superstructure, making it stronger and able to withstand such storms as those that wrecked it before. The objection to this was that it would be expensive, and would still leave the superstructure to be changed to masonry at some time in the future. A second method was to finish it on the top and lake side with rubble and capping-stone similar to the regular rubble mound breakwater heretofore described. This appealed to all very strongly, but the serious objection to it was the time that it would require. It would probably take two years or more to do it, and in the meantime the wrecked breakwater would be liable to greater and greater damage, if not complete destruction. A third method was to put a concrete superstructure on it similar to that put on a portion of the old breakwater and on the new North breakwater. This, it was believed, could be done in one working season. The objection to putting it on in the first place no longer held, as the breakwater had settled to a practical condition of stability and been thoroughly well pounded down by the waves.

As this concrete superstructure involves some interesting engineering features, it will be described, premising the description with the statement that it is similar in all respects to the superstructure put on the old breakwater and the new North breakwater, only made somewhat heavier on account of the greater exposure.

This style of superstructure was first devised and adopted at Buffalo, and we call it the concrete-shell construction, to distinguish it from the solid concrete superstructure which has hitherto and elsewhere been adopted. It consists, briefly, of three rows of concrete blocks weighing 10 to 14 tons each,

extending from two feet below ordinary mean lake level to two and three feet above this level, and resting upon these blocks and covering all the space between them a shell of concrete three to five feet thick, with all the interior space filled with packed stone.

In doing the work the cribs are first cut down and leveled off at the elevation of two feet below water, as it is considered that below this level the wood is practically imperishable. The concrete blocks are used about the water-line on account of the difficulty of getting good concrete made in the water and subject to the lapping action of the waves. To make these blocks as nearly monolithic as possible, joggle channels three inches deep are made in their ends, and when they are placed end to end, the double joggle channels six inches wide are filled with rich concrete well tamped in. The blocks once up, and the space between them filled with stone, forms or molds are put up and the place concrete is put in, forming the walls. Stone is filled in between the walls, and the deck is then put over all, resting on the walls and stone filling. At every 36 feet cross-walls are put in, making a series of pockets. To bond the concrete made in place to the concrete blocks, panels are made in the latter six inches deep which are filled with the place concrete. This shell concrete superstructure is believed to be fully as good as one of solid concrete and is much cheaper, the filling stone costing about \$1 a yard, replacing the concrete costing \$7 to \$8 per yard.

THE NORTH BREAKWATER.—The Act of June 3, 1896, provided for the protection of the whole water front of the City of Buffalo south of the entrance channel, but there remained one link to make the chain complete and secure protection for the entire city front. The missing link was at the north end of the chain. The New York State breakwater, forming the Erie Basin, protected the shore line and its elevators and lumber and coal docks for about 2,400 feet north from the entrance channel. Then there was a stretch of some 2,300 feet of exposed shore line before the Bird Island pier, also a State structure forming the entrance to Black Rock harbor, was reached. The entrance to Erie Basin at

its northerly end, and the entrance to Black Rock harbor, were thus exposed to lake storms, as well as the main shore between the two. This exposure had precluded the building of any wharves or docks along the main shore, and it was bare of any improvements from the foot of Georgia Street to the foot of Porter Avenue. The desired protection could be secured by a section of breakwater covering the open space.

The importance of Buffalo harbor was so well recognized that favorable Congressional action providing for this section was promptly secured. The River and Harbor Act of March 3, 1899, provided:

For the improvement of the Buffalo Entrance to Erie Basin and Black Rock Harbor, New York, \$50,000: *Provided*, That a contract or contracts may be entered into by the Secretary of War as may be necessary for the completion of said project, . . . to be paid for as appropriations may from time to time be made by law, not to exceed in the aggregate \$198,113.80, exclusive of the amount herein appropriated.

Briefly stated, the project was to build a breakwater 2,200 feet long on the location now occupied by the North breakwater, of hemlock timber cribs resting on solid rock bottom, and surmounted by a concrete superstructure of the shell design before described. Under the provisions of the Act of March 3, 1899, a contract was entered into with J. B. Donnelly of Buffalo, N. Y., for the whole breakwater, and the construction was begun by the contractor in August, 1899. Construction advanced favorably during the remainder of that season and during the following season of 1900, until the great Galveston storm of Sept. 11-12, 1900, made its unwelcome and destructive visitation. The wind reached a velocity of 78 miles per hour, and the water rose 5.6 feet above mean lake level. The construction of concrete superstructure had just been commenced. Some 200 concrete blocks had been laid on the cribs ready for the concrete walls. These blocks were 4 by 5 by 10 feet in size, and weighed some 14 tons each. Most of them were thrown off the cribs by the great seas sweeping over the work, and 100 feet of concrete walls built over blocks in place, was cracked and severely damaged. The blocks were promptly recovered

by a large derrick with the help of a diver, and work went on. By November 21st over 1,000 feet of the breakwater was completed. Then came the second great storm, Nov. 21, 1900, with its 60-mile wind, and severely damaged 150 feet of freshly-made concrete superstructure, and covered all with a coating of ice. Work was necessarily stopped. In March, 1901, the work was taken up again, and the whole breakwater fully completed June 4, 1901. In the meantime Congress had provided the funds necessary, and thus the whole breakwater, 2,200 feet long, built in an enduring form, had been built and paid for in less than two years' time, and in less than 16 months of actual working time.

When the remaining portion of the stone breakwater is completed, Buffalo will have by far a greater length of breakwater than any other city in the world. From Stony Point to the end of the North breakwater there are 22,500 feet of breakwater, very nearly double that at Cherbourg, France.

The cost of the different types of breakwaters which I have described, built in water 28 to 30 feet deep, is approximately as follows, which prices include the cost of superintendence, office expenses, etc.:

The rubble mound, or stone, breakwater costs \$130 per foot.

The timber crib breakwater, including the trench excavation and filling same with gravel, costs \$160 per foot, and if to this the lake-side enrockment is added, the cost is \$200 per foot. If to this we add the cost of the concrete superstructure as built on the portion wrecked in 1901 and as will be required eventually to replace all timber superstructure, the cost is \$300 a foot.

It will be observed that these costs are small, compared with the costs of foreign breakwaters which run ordinarily from \$500 to \$1,500 per foot.

There have been appropriated and expended on the construction and improvement of Buffalo harbor by the United States Government, the amounts shown in the following table:

STATEMENT OF ALLOTMENTS AND APPROPRIATIONS MADE FOR IMPROVING
HARBOR AT BUFFALO, N. Y., FROM MAY 26, 1826, TO
THE PRESENT TIME.

May 26, 1826.....\$	15,000.00	June 23, 1874.....\$	75,000.00
May 19, 1828.....	34,206.00	March 3, 1875.....	100,000.00
April 23, 1830.....	15,488.00	Aug. 4, 1877.....	85,000.00
March 2, 1831.....	12,900.00	June 18, 1878.....	80,000.00
July 3, 1832.....	10,300.00	March 3, 1879.....	100,000.00
March 2, 1833.....	31,700.00	June 14, 1880.....	90,000.00
June 28, 1834.....	20,000.00	March 3, 1881.....	90,000.00
July 7, 1838.....	68,500.00	Aug. 2, 1882.....	125,000.00
June 11, 1844.....	40,000.00	July 5, 1884.....	100,000.00
Aug. 30, 1852.....	14,000.00	Aug. 5, 1886.....	112,500.00
March 3, 1853.....	349.05	Aug. 11, 1888.....	225,000.00
March 2, 1855.....	452.32	Sept. 19, 1890.....	300,000.00
June 28, 1864.....	15,000.00	July 13, 1892.....	300,000.00
July 2, 1864.....	37,500.00	Aug. 18, 1894.....	70,000.00
June 23, 1866.....	131,000.00	June 4, 1897.....	481,250.00
March 2, 1867.....	100,000.00	July 1, 1898.....	489,746.00
April 10, 1869.....	89,100.00	March 3, 1899.....	485,498.00
July 10, 1870.....	80,000.00	March 3, 1899.....	75,000.00
March 3, 1871.....	100,000.00	March 3, 1901.....	400,000.00
June 10, 1872.....	75,000.00		
March 3, 1873.....	75,000.00	Total.....	\$4,769,489.37
Feb. 23, 1874.....	20,000.00		

To this should be added the appropriations for the break-water at the Buffalo entrance to Erie Basin and Black Rock Harbor (the North breakwater) as follows:

March 3, 1899.....	\$ 50,000.00
June 6, 1900.....	191,701.25
Total.....	\$241,701.25

This gives an aggregate of over \$5,000,000.*

* For a description of Buffalo harbor as it is (spring of 1902) see *Survey of Northern and Northwestern Lakes: Bulletin No. 12 D, Lake Erie and Niagara River to Niagara Falls*, published by the War Department, Corps of Engineers, U. S. Army, April 30, 1902. It summarizes the work thus far accomplished; shows that in the outer harbor "there are about 605 acres of water with 20 feet and over in depth." and "about 700 acres between the breakwater and the established harbor line which coincides generally with the 18-foot curve, all good anchorage ground." Statistics and accurate data are given on every phase of the harbor as it is, well showing what has been accomplished by the Government outlay of nearly \$5,000,000.

Nothing has been said here about the development in the inner harbor of Buffalo. To treat this subject properly would take much time and research and does not properly belong in a paper on the work done by the General Government. Suffice it to say that the people of Buffalo have tried to "keep up with the procession," with the larger and ever larger boats and constantly increasing business, by deepening the river and making slips and canals, and building elevators, warehouses, etc. In all, the hand and brain of the engineer have been all-important. New methods and improvements are constantly being devised and made, and the end is very far from being reached yet. Here, as everywhere else, there is room for the inventiveness and adaptiveness of the engineer. Owing to the quick loading and unloading devices at the lake ports, an amount of business is being done several times greater than could have been done with a fleet of the same capacity 40 or 50 years ago. One example illustrating this:

Fifty or 60 years ago when a ship arrived in Buffalo with a load of grain, it was taken out by a string of men climbing up a ladder with full baskets on their shoulders, emptying the grain into bins, and going down another ladder into the bowels of the ship with empty baskets, and painfully repeating this process hour after hour. A busy-brained man, Mr. Joseph Dart, seeing them thus employed, thought the process could be improved upon by fastening the basket to an endless chain put up in a nearly vertical position and kept going by steam power. From this idea sprang the great elevator system of Buffalo, where grain is handled in greater quantities and at a less cost than at any other port in the world. So rapidly is this work done now that a great steamer carrying 200,000 bushels of wheat can, with the aid of a dozen or fifteen men, be unloaded in eight or ten hours. Under the old system it would have taken them two or three weeks.*

Buffalo is one of the great ports of the world. It is difficult, if not impossible, to get accurate statistics of the

* See, on this subject, Joseph Dart's own account of *The Grain Elevators of Buffalo*, Buffalo Historical Society Publications, Vol. I., pp. 391-404.

water-borne commerce of different ports, but from the best data available it may be asserted that in our country the commerce of Buffalo is only exceeded by that of New York and Chicago, and in the whole world there are but about five or six cities which have a greater amount of water-borne commerce than Buffalo.

The ships in which the business of the Lakes is now done have grown so large, approximately 500 feet in length, and the amount of business so great, that the inner harbor in the narrow creek has been outgrown, and the demand for a more commodious harbor is imperative. It is to meet this demand that the outer harbor was made, and it is expected that soon quite a transformation scene will be exhibited by the erection of wharves, elevators, warehouses, etc., in the outer harbor, and the transaction of the greater part of the business there. It is with this end in view that the great Government works were built. In regard to these works Buffalo has a very proud record:

1. It is the first city on the Lakes at which a fully exposed breakwater was built.

2. It is the first city on the Lakes whose timber crib breakwater received a solid concrete masonry superstructure.

3. It is the first city on the Lakes at which a massive stone breakwater was built.

4. It is the first city on the Lakes, and it is believed in the world, at which a stone breakwater has been built with a gravel hearting.

5. It is the first city on the Lakes, and probably in the world, where the concrete-shell structure has been adopted and used surmounting a timber crib breakwater.

LIGHTS AND AIDS TO NAVIGATION.—Among other work done by the General Government for the benefit of the navigation interests are the construction and maintenance of lighthouse and fog-signal stations and the placing and care of buoys.

Buffalo Main Light.—The first work of the kind done by the Government at Buffalo was the erection of a lighthouse near the mouth of Buffalo Creek. This was in 1820, and its location was about that of the present lighthouse slip, op-

posite the Watson Elevator. The character and cost of the light are unknown. In 1833, when the South pier had been built by the Government, the entrance light was removed to the end of the pier where a mole had been prepared for its reception. Upon this the handsome cut-stone lighthouse was built and surmounted by a fine iron and glass lantern. In this was installed a third order dioptric Fresnel lens illuminating an arc of 216 degrees. The tower at first had a fog bell, but this was taken down in 1880 when the fog-signal station was established on the breakwater. Of late years this tower had been kept painted white, to better serve as a day mark to boats approaching the harbor. The light is 76 feet above the waters of the lake.

Breakwater Light and Fog Signal.—In 1872, after the breakwater commenced in 1868 had been built to several hundred feet in length, a lighthouse was established at its northern end. It was built on a separate crib work and stone pier 40 feet square, just inside of and detached from the breakwater. In 1899 the light was raised 12 feet, and it is now 53½ feet above the lake. It is a fourth order, fixed red light. In addition to the light there has been installed on the same pier a steam fog-signal apparatus which consists of a 10-inch whistle, the steam for which is supplied by duplicate water tube boilers. The apparatus went into commission in 1893, and owing to complaints on the part of people in Buffalo, and to increase its efficiency lakeward, it was later provided with a reflector to deaden the sound towards the city and increase it towards the lake. The station is also provided with a fog bell to be rung in case the steam apparatus is out of order.

Horseshoe Reef Light.—On a rocky ledge known as Horseshoe Reef, at the head of the Niagara River, on the north side of the approach to Buffalo harbor from the lake, and about one third of the distance from the Canadian to the American shore, is the Horseshoe Reef light. This was first built in 1856, and was rebuilt and strengthened in 1871, and has received various additions since. It is a light of the fourth order, and is a fixed white varied by a white flash every 30 seconds. It is 44½ feet above the water and is on a

timber stone-filled crib, surrounded by heavy stone to protect it against storms and ice shoves.

Niagara River Range Lights.—For the purpose of guiding vessels through the best channel at the head of the Niagara River, two range lights have been built in the City of Buffalo. The front light is on the embankment separating the Erie Canal from the Black Rock Harbor Canal, near the water works pumping station, and the rear light is on a small triangular park at the eastern end of Hampshire Street. Both are handsome towers of wood and concrete foundations and were built, the rear in 1898-'9 and the front in 1900. These lights were originally established in 1885 as simple post lights. They were afterwards changed to the skeleton towers with a little house on top, and these in turn changed to the present handsome structures. The lights are both fixed white, and are, front $54\frac{1}{2}$, and rear 103, feet above the water of the lake.

New Lights to be Established.—Contracts have been let for three new lights and a new fog-signal station for Buffalo harbor. One new steel tubular lighthouse is to be built on the south end of the new North breakwater, and a similar structure is to be built to mark the northern extremity of the new main southern entrance to the outer harbor. These are both to be fixed red lights. On the northern extremity of the Stony Point arm of the new breakwater, to mark the south of the new main southern entrance, is to be built a very fine structure in which will be installed a lightning flash-light of great beauty, intensity and power. It will flash every ten seconds, two white flashes then a red flash in one revolution of the lens. This will be one of the finest lights on the Great Lakes. At the same location will be built a fog-signal station in which will be installed a pair of Harnsby-Akroyd oil engines with air compressors, the compressed air from which will operate a siren. This is a strictly first-class, up-to-date outfit for fog signal purposes.

Besides the lights, the Government maintains a number of buoys to aid vessels to safely reach and leave Buffalo harbor.

EARLY DAYS ON THE LAKES,

WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE CHOLERA VISITATION OF 1832.

FROM MANUSCRIPT RECORDS OF
CAPTAIN AUGUSTUS WALKER.*

As early as 1816 a few enterprising men residing in Northern Ohio obtained a charter from the Legislature of that State under which a Company was formed and a sum of \$8,000 was subscribed. William Latimer, Abraham [illegible], Seymour Austin and Ely Bond were the active men engaged in the enterprise. Painesville, Ohio, is entitled to the credit of making the first experiment in harbor improvements on the lakes, at the mouth of the Grand River, Ohio. In the spring of 1819 they began operations on the east side of that river, and drove two tiers of piles about 40 rods in length, set five feet apart, and filled them up with brush, timber and a few stones. In February, 1820, a severe freshet at the breaking up of the ice carried away some 15 rods of the work. Nothing more was done until 1821, when the piles were extended about 30 rods farther. The funds raised by the company proving totally inadequate to accomplish the object, the work was relinquished to the General Govern-

* Died Feb. 6, 1865. What is here printed is but a portion of the material deposited by Capt. Walker with the Buffalo Historical Society in 1864. His records are particularly full as to the names of early vessel builders and owners, of early vessels, especially steamboats, with dates of their launching; with many pages of memoranda relating to the business-men of Buffalo and other lake ports in the first half of the nineteenth century.

ment, which made an appropriation of \$1,000 and the next year another small appropriation. In 1827 the Government assumed the construction of the harbor, under the direction of its own agents and from that period forward until the work was suffered to fall into decay Grand River has been one of the best artificial harbors on the coast of the lakes.

The second experiment was made by citizens of Buffalo who commenced the construction of a pier in 1820. . . . Application was made by the citizens of Buffalo praying the Legislature for a survey of Buffalo Creek; an act was passed April 10, 1818, authorizing a survey and directing the Supervisors of the County of Niagara to pay \$3 a day to the surveyor and to assess the amount to the county. . . .*

Buffalo and Black Rock were not the only rival towns in the lake region; the same feeling of rivalry existed between Huron and Sandusky villages. It originated as early as the time when there were but seven steamboats upon the lakes—1826—from the fact that none of the boats could be prevailed upon to touch at Huron but would go to Sandusky bay, often carrying large numbers of passengers past their destination at Huron, subjecting them to the inconvenience of finding their way back over 10 miles by land conveyance. The captains claimed that it was unsafe to run down into Huron bay but the real reason was that it would detain them an hour or so on their trip. This state of things so incensed those residing at Huron, Milan, Norwalk, Vermilion and other towns in the neighborhood of Huron that they determined to have a steamboat of their own.

Knowing something of the extent of the injuries they had been subjected to, as I had during those years been doing business with my schooner at that port and was familiar with the harbor, I proposed to join them in building a steamer. This resulted in the construction of the steamer Sheldon Thompson. I left my schooner *Lady of the Lake* for one trip and took passage on the steamboat *Superior* for Sandusky. This was the first time I had ever traveled on a steam-vessel. I left the steamer at that port, hired a horse

* Capt. Walker's description of the work on Buffalo harbor is here omitted, being substantially what Judge Wilkeson has recorded.

and buggy and made my way to Milan. The next day a public meeting was called which brought together the merchants, farmers and mechanics, all of whom subscribed stock to the amount of \$10,150, in \$50 shares, some to pay in labor, some in pork, flour, etc., others in merchandise at cost prices. Four yoke of oxen and chains were to be furnished by the farmers; others were to deliver timber at so much per foot. This \$10,150 was the whole capital stock decided upon, though the boat cost some \$16,000. There was not a very large amount of money used in her building as the commodities furnished by her stockholders were most that were required. The engine and boilers were furnished by stockholders, which were the same that were used by the steamer *Enterprise* previous to running the high-pressure engine.

Such was the spirit manifested by these public-spirited men that for many years thereafter Huron had its own representative steamer and also became famed for its ship-building. A number of steamers were built at Huron under the title and name of The Huron Mechanics' Association.

Soon after it was known that the Grand River harbor had been improved, other places along the coast began similar work by driving piles and in a few years almost every creek and river on Lake Erie was greatly benefited by this process of piling. Among them were the Cattaraugus, Conneaut and Ashtabula creeks, Cuyahoga, Black, Vermilion and Huron rivers, Port Clinton and the River Raisin, all begun before 1823.

About 1835 or '36 another class of harbors was introduced on Lake Michigan, by driving piles some six or eight feet apart in two rows 10 or 12 feet distant, with cross ties over the tops of the piles and some eight feet above the water, on which the planking rested. These piers extended 1,200 to 1,500 feet into the lake or until they reached 12 feet of depth. They served well to land goods on, but were unstable moorings for vessels in rough weather. These piers were run out into the lake at many points along the coast where there were no creeks or rivers. This class of harbors was first constructed by Horatio Stevens at Milwaukee, and for many years, until the harbors at Milwaukee and Chicago

were completed, it was the only kind of harbors on that coast. Mr. Stevens for many years was identified with our steam marine, and at one time owner of the steamboat Milwaukee.

I first came to the lakes in May, 1817, when I was 17 years old, led only by my desire to become a sailor. The aggregate population of Buffalo and Black Rock did not exceed 1,000, but the spirit of rivalry was even then active among the few men engaged in commerce, and was kept alive through the public journals of that time. This was a source of great amusement to those who knew but little of the natural advantages of the two localities. The trade of the lakes was limited; there were but 19 American merchant vessels on Lake Erie; these vessels with few exceptions plied from the harbor of Black Rock, which was then in its natural state, no artificial structures having been built. Niagara River was the only accessible harbor at this end of the lake and was sought by all mariners in rough weather, who often had to bear up and run back hundreds of miles. Especially in the fall was it the only safe retreat or shelter from wild storms. Buffalo Creek was then a sluggish stream, at times easily forded at its mouth and often in summer entirely barred up with sand by the action of surf from the bay. It would soon break out again, winding its way along the beach a half mile or more north of its present confluence with the lake.

In 1816, '17 and '18 Sill, Thompson & Co. were the only forwarding house at Black Rock. The principals of the firm were Nathaniel Sill and Captain Sheldon Thompson. Subsequently the firm assumed the title of Thompson & Co., James L. Barton being the junior partner in the concern. Still later and for many years, the firm was known as Coit, Kimberly & Co.; afterwards Kimberly, Pease & Co., John Pease being one of the firm; at present, Pease & Trobridge. These several firms, for the last 47 years, have been known among the most prominent business establishments at this port, and for many years contributed their full share to the development of our lake commerce and were for some time largely interested in the trade of the Erie Canal.

In those same years—1816, '17 and '18—there was but one forwarding house on Buffalo Creek—the firm of Townsend & Coit. The Hon. Charles Townsend and George Coit were partners in this firm for many years, until the death of Judge Townsend. This firm, I am informed, was the first that forwarded any articles of merchandise westward from Buffalo in a regular order of shipment, by bill of lading.

A few years later, Mr. John Scott commenced a forwarding business upon the creek, near Main Street. Subsequently the firm assumed the name of Scott & Barker—the late Jacob A. Barker being the junior partner. Afterwards the firms were Barker & Holt; Hunter, Palmer & Co.; Holt & Ensign, and at present Charles Ensign. Previous to the opening of our present harbor all goods and merchandise that came to this point to be shipped westward, were taken in scows or lighters, alongside, and loaded on board vessels at anchor in the bay, where they generally came to in three fathoms. Any nearer approach to the shore was considered unsafe, as the anchorage in less water was known to be bad holding-ground, rendering vessels liable to drag on shore before getting under way. Most vessels upon the lakes at that day were dull sailers; some of them could hardly claw off shore under canvas.

This business of lightering was mostly monopolized by Winthrop Fox, he having the only facilities for that purpose. His charges would seem rather exorbitant at the present day for such services. Mr. Fox was among the first settlers of Buffalo, and a brother to Carlton W. Fox, who many years since embarked with a company of Indians to Europe for the purpose of exhibiting them as a matter of speculation, but which, so far as I am informed, was a sad failure, the result of which is known to many of the older inhabitants of our city, as well as to some of the Senecas and other tribes who are relatives of those natives that went upon that expedition.*

Ship-building, in 1817, was almost in its infancy. The

* For an account of this venture, see *The Indian Show of Storrs & Co.*, Buffalo Historical Society Publications, Vol. IV., pp. 415-416.

only persons engaged in this important branch, as master builders, were Capt. Asa Stanard and Benjamin Bidwell. They were doing business, on a small scale, at Black Rock. As early as 1812, while our late Captain Bidwell was yet an apprentice, old Capt. Stanard had established a shipyard on Scajaquada Creek. Subsequently (after the death of Capt. Stanard), the firm was known by the name of Bidwell & Davidson; and some years later (after the demise of Capt. Davidson), as Bidwell & Carrick, who established a shipyard and dry-dock at this port. Since that time the firm was known as Bidwell & Banta, the late Jacob W. Banta being one of the principals. The name of Jacob W. Banta deserves more than a passing comment. Few men in modern times have shown more talent and taste in naval science than he. He was apprenticed quite young, schooled and educated under the instruction of Henry Eckford of the City of New York, of the firm of Eckford & Westervelt, who was known to rank among the best naval architects of his time. Mr. Banta possessed genius of a high order, which was manifested in his models of those two splendid steamers, the Western Metropolis and City of Buffalo.

When I first arrived at Black Rock, May 5, 1817, I found five sail vessels laid up in that harbor, where they had been moored the previous winter—the schooners Michigan, Erie and Ranger, the sloop Hannah, and the brig Union. The Union, Erie and the sloop Hannah were hauled into the mouth of Scajaquada Creek. These vessels had just begun fitting out for the season. The ice from the lake was slowly passing down the Niagara in large quantities, and did not entirely disappear until nearly the first of June. These vessels, to my inexperienced eye, looked very formidable. Indeed, they were the largest water craft I had ever seen. Their size, together with the sight of Lake Erie for the first time, made a singular impression upon my young mind. The Michigan was 132 tons burden, the largest American merchant vessel afloat upon the lakes. The Erie was 77 tons; the Hannah 48 and 73-95ths tons measurement; the Union 104 tons, and the schooner Ranger, a small affair, only 28 tons—custom-house measurement. The Michigan,

Erie and sloop Hannah were built at Black Rock in 1816. The sloop Hannah is the first vessel that appears on the Custom House register at this port, under date of August, 1816. She was owned by Charles Townsend, George Coit and Captain Oliver Coit of Buffalo. Her first commander, Captain Coit, was a thorough seaman, educated in the school of ocean discipline, some of which he brought with him to the lakes, and in a large degree insisted upon its due observance, which seemed rather a trying ordeal to fresh-water sailors, making some of them at times quite refractory.

The schooner Michigan was built by a shipwright named Sneed, who came on from the East for that purpose. This vessel was a double topsail schooner, resembling in most particulars the down-easters that ply upon the Atlantic coast at the present day. She was owned by Sill, Thompson & Co.; and Capt. James Rough, who took command of her the first and second season. Subsequently, for a number of years she was under the command of Capt. Walter Norton.

After 11 years of successful service upon the lakes, the Michigan was bought by parties as a speculation, and under the direction of Capt. Rough, was fitted out with a variety of living animals on board and sent over the Falls of Niagara. Among the number of animals was a full-grown Arabian camel, one elk, a variety of dogs, one bear and a number of swan, geese and hawks, who were left to roam about on deck, until the gallant craft made her last and fearful plunge over the precipice into the abyss below. This scene attracted a large concourse of spectators, estimated from 50,000 to 100,000 persons, who gathered from far and near. Capt. Levi Allen of this city was one of the ship's crew who assisted in this novel enterprise, and had it not been for him and others of the crew, old Capt. Rough, in his zeal to have everything rightly adjusted before leaving his favorite ship, would have been drawn, with all hands, over the falls. The crew, with the utmost exertion, rowed the yawl on shore, some distance below the mouth of Chippewa Creek on the Canada side, just above the first cataract, to the great relief of the multitude who witnessed this almost miraculous escape.

Capt. Rough was one of the early settlers of Black Rock, a Scotchman by birth and possessing those strong national characteristics and ruling passions that tend to the accumulation of wealth. He was bred to the sea, and in most particulars was a fair specimen of an old tar—arbitrary and commanding on shipboard, at times as rough as the element he inhabited, though affable, courteous and gentlemanly in his intercourse with the world. When on shore he seemed almost transformed into another being. Some few years prior to his death, he was supposed by many to be very poor, laboring under many pecuniary embarrassments. It was ascertained, however, after his demise, that he had some \$30,000 or \$40,000 of ready money in the bank at Chippewa and \$4,000 in a bank at Pittsburgh, besides a large landed estate in Black Rock. He died at Black Rock and was buried in the old cemetery, with a quaint and concise device placed upon his tombstone by his friend, Major Donald Fraser, then a resident of Black Rock.* It reads as follows:

Here lies the body of
CAPTAIN JAMES ROUGH,
A son of auld Scotia;
Who died Dec. 4th, 1828.
A Highlandman's son placed this stone
in remembrance of his friend.

Here moored beneath this willow tree,
Lies honor, worth and integrity.
More I might add, but 'tis enough,
'Twas concentrated all in honest Rough.

With such as he, where'er he be—
May I be saved or damned.

F.

The schooner *Erie* was built by Stanard & Bidwell in 1816 and was owned by Sill, Thompson & Co. and Captain M. T. Miller, who commanded her the first and second seasons. At that day she was considered a fine model, having

* For some account of Capt. Rough and his friend, Major Donald Fraser, see William Hodge's paper on *Buffalo Cemeteries*, Buffalo Historical Society Publications, Vol. I. The last two lines of the epitaph on Rough's tombstone are from Burns's epitaph on 'Gavin Hamilton.

a large amount of dead-rise to her floor. She was acknowledged by all to be the fastest sailer upon the lakes, especially in beating to windward. She was what seamen call a wet craft and with all her good sea qualities was a very uncomfortable ship to sail in. This I can testify to, having sailed upon her one season as a hand before the mast. Vessels of the lake at that day were built without bulwarks and consequently when hauled upon the wind the spray made a free breach over the deck. The brig Union was owned by Jonathan Sidway and commanded by Captain James Beard. As this was the first vessel that I embarked on as a sailor I may be permitted to dwell on some of her peculiarities. She was modeled, built, owned and commanded by a man named Martin, who had been a house carpenter. She was partially built on Put-in-Bay Island, launched and towed to the mouth of Grand River, Ohio, in 1813. It is difficult to give any adequate idea of her construction. Her proportions were unlike those of any other craft then or since on the lakes. She had some good points, one of them her great breadth of beam; that, together with her flat bottom, with but little rise to her floor, enabled her to carry a much larger tonnage than other vessels of her tonnage, and when light she sailed safely in all kinds of weather without ballast. The order of her planking was peculiar. Her garboard-streak followed up the main stem, butting underneath the wales instead of ending against the stem of the ship. Each succeeding streak of plank was gradually tapered or beveled at the forward end, so that the last streak was brought to a wedge-like point terminating some 20 feet from her bows. She was originally schooner-rigged, with two old-fashioned slip-keels. Her lower masts were buttonwood; the bowsprit and jib-boom of the same timber, both made in one spar; her decks were of red cedar and but very little iron was used in her build, she being mostly fastened with wooden trunnels. She was employed at the close of the war by the United States Government as a transport. In 1815 she was sunk in Scajaquada Creek, but was subsequently raised by Stanard & Bidwell and rebuilt into a hermaphrodite brig—removing the slip-keels and substituting a stand-

ing one in their stead. By this general overhauling she was made to look much like a sea-going vessel, and when under way, with all her canvas, upper and lower studding sails set to the breeze, her appearance was really quite imposing. In 1816, '17 and '18 she was under the command of Capt. James Beard, the father of the artist, Wm. H. Beard, of this city.

I take pleasure in speaking of Capt. James Beard, who was then a man about 55 years of age. In after years I knew him intimately. He was a fair specimen of an old-fashioned gentleman, kind and genial in his nature and from his extensive voyages upon the ocean, visiting many portions of the globe, had acquired a thorough knowledge of the geography of the world, although at the same time but poorly versed in the science of human nature. He, like many others, from the integrity of his own heart was slow to learn that mankind was not always to be trusted. He could hardly believe that most men talked and acted from motives of policy or interest. Capt. Beard was truly a gentleman, and in the broadest sense a true sailor. He was a resident of Black Rock when I came to the country, and remained there for some years, until he removed with his family to Ohio.

The majority of commanders, as well as seamen, when I came to the lakes, were from the seaboard. Most of them not only brought with them their peculiar ideas of rigid, arbitrary discipline practiced upon the ocean, but most of the masters adopted the same style and mode of living among their crews. To give some idea how men before the mast fared upon the lakes at that day, I will note that their food, as a general thing, was salt pork and beef, hard bread or sea-biscuit, potatoes, beans or peas; no tea, coffee, sugar, milk, butter or cheese were furnished by the owners. Each seaman and boy was allowed 12 shillings per month to buy such small stores. In addition to this all on board were, according to custom, allowed one half pint of whiskey, as rations, dealt out by the mate each day. As I happened to have a stronger appetite for sleep than for whiskey I could always find some one of the old tars that would stand my anchor-watch in port for the privilege of drinking my half

pint of grog, added to his own. These and some other antiquated customs gradually gave way before the march of progress as the number of fresh-water masters and seamen multiplied upon the lakes.

And as Capt. Beard was my first captain, I may be allowed to give some account of the incidents connected with that pioneer voyage. We sailed from the port of Black Rock one of the last days of May, bound for Cleveland, Ohio, or rather we were towed up the rapids (by what the sailors called a "horn breeze"), having 12 yoke of oxen to enable her to ascend. The current opposite the ferry was some nine knots and continued some distance above and below that point. Previous to the erection of Black Rock pier the average current up as far as the main reef was about seven knots. The day previous to our sailing, the Captain's family and some friends came and took dinner on board, a common custom in those days before leaving on a voyage, and especially was this custom observed when a vessel cleared for a distant port like Detroit or Mackinaw.

Nothing worthy of note occurred on the passage up. The wind was light and fair most of the distance. We came to anchor the second day off the town, there being no harbor accessible at the mouth of the Cuyahoga River for any craft drawing over three feet of water. The yawl was soon lowered and sent on shore with the captain, a few passengers, and her owner, Mr. Sidway, who acted as a sort of super-cargo. In the course of the afternoon a lighter came alongside, laden with some 30 barrels of pork, which were hoisted on board and stuck into the hold. The lighter returned to the shore. During the night the wind came on to blow from the eastward, and continued to increase until it blew a gale. We rode with both anchors ahead that night and the following day, in the meantime the mate taking the precaution to have her canvas reefed and in readiness to get under way in case the cables parted.

About 12 o'clock the second night, the best hawser cable parted and the other anchor began to drag on shore, leaving no other alternative but to bend a buoy to the cable, slip, make sail and stand out to sea, shaping our course to the

islands. We came to in Put-in-Bay harbor, with a small kedge anchor bent to the hawser, which was sufficient to bring her up in that most natural land-locked haven so much frequented in former years. Previous to the construction of artificial harbors along the coast, most vessels sought this safe retreat in rough weather. After our arrival, in clearing up the decks, it was found that the old buttonwood main-mast was sprung in the partners, and by starting the wedges we discovered it was much decayed. This difficulty was obviated for the time being by substituting a longer set of wedges, extending some three feet above deck and passing down the mast about the same distance in the hold, and wrapping cordage tightly round. In that manner the mast was strongly fished, which enabled her to carry sail with safety. The next day the wind changed to the south'ard, and in the course of the day and night following, we came back to our old anchorage, got our anchors, by sweeping for the one attached to the parted cable, took on board a full cargo of pork, and with the last lighter load, Mr. Sidway came on board, having been left on shore with the captain during our trip to the island. When getting under way from Cleveland, it was generally supposed by the crew that we were bound directly to Black Rock, but we found our destination was Long Point, Canada West. We lay there, beating off and on from the main land, for nearly two weeks, much of the time at anchor, waiting a favorable opportunity to get the cargo on shore in small boats and scows that came alongside at night, whenever the brig stood in near the coast. At length the cargo, some 700 or 800 barrels, was all disposed of.

I do not wish to say that this landing cargo in the night was smuggling, as I am quite sure I never *saw* one barrel landed on the Canadian shore. It was enough that I knew the voyage to me was rather a rough one; a reality which began to make me think there was not quite as much novelty in sailing as I had been led to believe from all the flattering stories I had heard of the pleasure of sailing upon the Great Lakes. It was quite another thing from what I had found

in earlier youth in the sport of sailing over the smooth surface of Oneida and Onondaga lakes.

We arrived off Buffalo, came to anchor outside, after having been absent nearly four weeks. The next day, the brig was to sail to Fort Erie for the purpose of taking on board a cargo of salt, an article bearing a much higher price than at the present day. I thought on the whole I had experienced about as much of lake life and fore-castle fare as I cared to see; in addition I had suffered terribly from seasickness and was a little homesick withal. I asked for my wages, having shipped only for the trip, the same as the balance of the crew, except the officers, who were shipped for the season. I received the amount due, having been on board seven weeks, including the time of fitting out.

Small events sometimes change the whole tenor of a man's life; my next experience may seem to sustain that theory. After leaving the brig (which I confess was with some reluctance), I remained two days in Buffalo and finally determined to retrace my steps homeward, by the way of Black Rock, Lewiston and Oswego, the same route by which I came but eight weeks before. I commenced my journey at four o'clock in the afternoon, taking a short cut from my boarding house, located near Main Street, where Spaulding's Exchange now stands; there was but one dwelling below that which stood in the angle just where Dods-worth's clothing store now stands. It was occupied as a small grocery kept by Daniel Barto. I followed a sort of foot-path or trail along the brow of the hill (now the Terrace), across lots and intersecting Niagara Street somewhere near where Prince's melodeon factory now stands.* Just above was a double log house occupied by old Uncle Caskey, as he was called by all who knew him. The region was then an open common with a few forest trees standing here and there among the scattered underwood. I sat down by the wayside to rest a little, as my baggage though scanty began to feel rather heavy. While sitting thus my attention was attracted to a pile of clippings or refuse which had been de-

* Corner of Seventh and Maryland Streets. The factory long since disappeared.

posited from a tinshop in a hollow near by. I went to the spot and boy-like spent a half-hour or more in turning over the fancifully cut spirals and other fragments. Thus I occupied myself until I fell asleep. When I awoke the sun was setting and the thought occurred to me that the day was too far gone for me to reach Black Rock before dark. So I changed my purpose and returned to my former boarding house, kept by old Father Mahoney, but with my mind still intent on leaving for home the next morning. But when morning came I began to falter as to the propriety of going home. I resolved once more to try a sailor's fortune, and before night I had shipped on board the schooner *Ranger*, which had found her way into Buffalo Creek, she drawing but three feet of water when her lee-boards were up.

This small vessel was commanded by a Captain Levi Patterson, owned by Mr. Tinker, a merchant at Westfield; a Mr. Hawley of Fredonia, and a gentleman residing in Buffalo, whose name I do not remember. She plied between this port and Portland Harbor, touching at Silver Creek and Dunkirk. She was wrecked at Portland Harbor that fall. From that time to the present I have been more or less interested and associated with our lake commerce, which fact may be more or less due to the little circumstance of falling asleep on my way out of town, some 46 years ago.

From 1817 to 1820 sail vessels greatly increased in numbers, though not in size. These vessels varied from 18 to 65 tons burden, mostly built with slip-keels, differing somewhat from the present style of centerboards. Each creek, river and port along the coast had its representative vessels. Among them were the schooner *Fire Fly* and sloop *Livonia*, of Cattaraugus; *Fayett's Packet*, of Silver Creek; *Dunkirk Packet*, of Dunkirk; *Erie Packet*, of Presqu' Isle, Pa.; *Salem Packet*, of Conneaut, Ohio; the *General Jackson*, of Superior; *Zephyr* and *Traveller*, of Ashtabula; *Widow's Son*, *Grand River*; *Neptune*, *American Eagle*, *Fairplay* and *Aurora*, of Cleveland (the *Aurora* was subsequently owned by Judge Samuel Wilkeson and Sheldon Chapin, of Buffalo); schooner *Dread*, of Black Rock; *William and Ranger*, of Vermilion River; the schooner *William* was

owned in 1821 and '22 by Reuben B. Heacock, Horace Griffin and Benjamin Fowler, then residents of Buffalo. The port of Huron, O., was represented by a small schooner of the same name; there were also the schooner Wolf, of Sandusky; the Maumee Packet, of Maumee, and the schooner Tiger, of Detroit. The majority of commanders of these vessels have passed away. Capt. Levi Johnson, of Cleveland; Capt. Warren Dingly, Capt. Perkins, of Chautauqua County, and Capt. Joseph and John Napier, are all that are now living of the early pioneer captains.*

The schooner Red Jacket—called after the celebrated Indian chief of that name—was built at Black Rock in 1820, owned by Sill, Thompson & Co. and Reynolds Gillet (her first commander). This was the last sail craft built by Stanard & Bidwell at Black Rock. This vessel was designed and well adapted to the Sault Ste. Marie trade, as there was at that time but five feet of water on St. Clair and Lake George flats. She was employed the first season by the United States Government in the boundary survey of Lake Huron, having on board a party of topographical engineers, among whom were Maj. Donald Fraser and our fellow-citizen, William A. Bird, who was employed as astronomical engineer.† This vessel, from her peculiar construction and proportions, so unlike any other upon the lake, deserves a brief description. Her length on deck was 70 feet; breadth of beam, 17 feet; depth of hold, 4 feet 11 inches—measuring 53 tons. She was what is called a periauger, carrying immense leaboards, fan-shaped, and so arranged on the sides of the vessel, that they could be hoisted or lowered away, as the case might be. One only being in the water at a time, these leaboards enabled her to pass through shoal water, and were necessarily elevated on entering port, when they extended several feet above the main rail, giving the ship a novel and somewhat unnatural appearance. The Red Jacket was the first merchant vessel built upon the lakes, with bulwarks. Previous

* The reader will bear in mind that this paper was written 40 years ago.

† See William A. Bird's *Reminiscences of the Boundary Survey, etc.*, Buffalo Historical Society Publications, Vol. IV.

to her time vessels were built with open rail and stanchions. There was a necessity in this vessel having bulwarks, as she had but little side above the water when loaded. Since her time, the plan of boarding up to the rail has become a universal practice in building sail and steam vessels. In 1822 I became interested in the *Red Jacket*, and commanded her for seven successive years.

In 1823 the first chain cables were introduced upon the lakes by S. Thompson & Co. The schooners *Michigan*, *Erie*, *Red Jacket* and sloop *Hannah* were provided with that kind of cable, rather as an experiment at first, but they soon came into general use.

About the year 1824 or '25, there was a marked improvement in the models and general construction of sail vessels, creating a new era in ship-building; much of which was due to the taste and skill of Capt. Fairbanks Church, and Captain Augustus Jones, who came from the East and established shipyards at the mouth of Black River and Huron, Ohio, where they continued business for many years. Their vessels, as a general thing, were far in advance of those previously built—both for sailing and carrying heavier burden for their tonnage, and drawing much less water than those previously introduced. They bore a greater proportion of beam to the length of keel, and less depth in the hold, and being very broad on the transom, were enabled to carry sail as long as their canvas held together, which sometimes is very important when jammed upon a lee shore. There was a peculiar grace in the set of those vessels. In that particular these builders excelled. Their vessels had a sort of swan-like appearance upon the water, that attracted attention, while at the same time they were simple in their rig—mostly fore-and-aft schooners, though in after years they built and put afloat quite a large number of brigs and steamboats. Capt. Jones was the most successful so far as sail vessels were concerned. His style of sparring vessels, cut and proportion of sails, etc., was quite different from any other before introduced upon the lakes. The foremast was stepped further forward, the mainmast further aft, giving greater spread to the foresail, which is an important item when

hauled upon the wind. Capt. Jones's vessels were always known in the distance by their masts being wider apart, as well as their great length of gaffs, both fore and aft, a distinguishing feature which characterized them from other vessels of that day.

I have been thus minute for the purpose of contrasting the sail craft of my youth with those of the present day—showing what changes and improvements we have lived to witness upon these inland seas. A few years later, almost all the ports between this and Detroit built and owned a representative steamboat.

Previous to the opening of Buffalo harbor in 1820, the majority of sail vessels, as well as the steamer *Walk-in-the-Water*, went to Black Rock, and were obliged to be towed up the rapids, unless so fortunate as to catch a strong northwardly wind to bring them up under canvas, a rare thing in summer, requiring at least a 10-knot breeze to stem the current. This towing process was a regular business, employing from eight to 14 yoke of oxen. The sailors commonly called this towing the "horn breeze." This enterprise was almost always superintended by Capt. Sheldon Thompson, it being an operation that required much care and good judgment, both in the management of this long team as well as the manner of securing the hawser to the masthead, and the necessary number of boats that served to buoy up the hawser between the ship and the shore, as well as their relative position. These boats (some dozen in number) were built expressly for that purpose. They were placed about 50 feet apart; the hawsers used were from 200 to 300 fathoms long, as it was necessary to shear-board out into the stream, while passing *Brace's* ferry, a shoal place at that point. Two sizes were required, a six-inch line for towing large vessels, and a four-inch for small ones. As a general thing these vessels were towed nearly up to the mouth of our present harbor, and when the tow line was cast off from the vessel it required no small amount of labor to haul on shore and coil away in boats that length of cordage and get it back again to Black Rock—a fact to which, I suppose, our worthy and respected citizen, *Sheldon Pease*, can bear testimony. He, then a

mere boy some 15 or 16 years of age, was known as the head teamster, and from these years of experience in this laborious enterprise, became proficient in that, as well as other branches of industry connected with our lake trade.

Captain Thompson, in early life, had some considerable experience at sea, which gave him a pretty thorough acquaintance with most matters connected with nautical life. He was one of that class of self-made men that could work with head and hands, if need be; always industrious, frugal and temperate in those habits of life which did not fail to ensure a competency. •

From 1822 to 1836 I was interested in sail and steam vessels, in which the firm of S. Thompson & Co. were concerned, and acted as their agent and consignee. My first steamer bore the name of my friend, Sheldon Thompson.

From 1817 to the opening of the Erie Canal in 1825, most sail craft were obliged to lay up during two months or more in summer for the want of sufficient up-freight to keep them in commission, down cargoes at that date being very limited, confined mostly to a few furs and peltries, a small quantity of Indian sugar and white fish, the only exports from the West. Most of the merchandise from New York, bound westward, was transported by Durham boats, or batteaux, up the Mohawk River, through the Utica and Rome Canal, down Wood Creek, across the Oneida Lake, down the Oneida, Seneca and Oswego rivers, round the portage at Oswego falls, thence across Lake Ontario to Lewiston, up Lewiston heights by portage, round Niagara Falls, with the slow process of teams to Schlosser's landing (then called Fort Schlosser), then taken in batteaux or Durham boats to Black Rock harbor. Capt. James Sloan, Capt. Stevens, Capt. Philip H. Weishnan and Capt. Charles monopolized the boating business on the Niagara River between Schlosser and Black Rock, which at that day was an important branch of trade, being connected with Porter, Barton & Co., who had at that time a charter granted by the State Legislature, giving them the exclusive privilege of all the transit of merchandise, salt, etc., round the falls, for some 19 years, which had not expired when the Erie Canal

was opened. Some merchandise, however, found its transit from Albany to the lakes, by the tardy way of wagons drawn by six or eight-horse teams to this port. Vessels were often detained one or two weeks after they commenced taking in their lading waiting the arrival of those teams for sufficient goods to complete their cargo. In the meantime they could, as a general thing, learn by the arrival of the stage coach that came daily with the mail (unless prevented by bad roads), what time they passed the freight wagons and the time those big teams might be expected to arrive at Buffalo or Black Rock. Those slow, but formidable establishments were commonly called Pennsylvania teams. The tires of their wagon wheels were some 10 to 12 inches wide, serving a two-fold purpose—preventing them from falling into the deep ruts made by narrow tires, and keeping them from smashing the highway as they passed along. This exempted that class of vehicles from toll-gate fees, etc., which were quite an item in those days when turnpike gates were so frequent.

But when the Erie Canal between Buffalo and the Hudson River was opened through valley and mountain, connecting the great chain of lakes with the ocean, a new impulse was given to our city and trade. As the terminus of this great thoroughfare was first at Black Rock Dam it stirred anew the spirit of rivalry that had existed for years between the business men of Black Rock and Buffalo, a feeling which did not abate in the least until the canal was finally completed to its conjunction with Buffalo Creek. About this time most of the business men residing at Black Rock moved and established themselves in this city. Among the number were Capt. Sheldon Thompson, James L. Barton, John L. Kimberly, James McKnight, Phineas Brintnal, John D. Harty, Capt. Levi Allen, Archibald Allen, Stearns & Cutter, Judge McPherson, Lester Bran, Capt. William T. Pease, Henry Daw, John Pease, Joseph Barton, Doctor Bliss and others, most of whom were residents of Black Rock from 1817 to 1820 and '21. In 1827 I changed my residence from Black Rock to Buffalo, and in 1830 removed to Huron, Ohio, where my first efforts at steamboat building and sail-

ing commenced. I resided there until 1842, at which time I returned with my family to this city. During the 12 years of my residence in Ohio I established and carried on a shipyard for the purpose of building my own boats, and during that period designed and built a number of steamers, and was otherwise interested in the forwarding and commission business under the firm name of Wickam, Walker & Co.

Among the principal business men residing at Buffalo in 1817 to 1820 were Reuben B. Heacock and Horace Griffin of the firm of Heacock & Griffin; also Grosvenor & Heacock, George Burt, Burt & Goodrich, John Lay of the firm of Hart & Lay; E. D. Efner, William Bryant, Joshua Gillet, Benjamin Fowler, a Mr. Badger, and a Mr. Lazalere, a jeweler. These gentlemen were the largest, in fact, almost the only merchants at that day in the city. All these merchants, if I remember rightly, were located on the west side of Main Street, scattered along from the corner on the Terrace where Joshua Gillet kept what was then called a wholesale liquor store in the old stone building which afterwards was owned by Jonathan Sidway, extending up to the corner where the Erie County Savings Bank is now located,* though Burt & Goodrich's store stood much farther up street. By the rapid advance in the price of real estate in these localities, the fortunes of these men, greatly increased, and especially was Mr. Sidway's estate augmented. Stephen Clark at that time owned and kept an inn near the present locality of the Commercial buildings, and nearly opposite where Glenny's crockery store now stands was a small tenement occupied by Mr. Asaph Bemis, as a bakery. Mr. Landon was then an innkeeper in the village, where the present Mansion House is located. Mr. Pomeroy, better known at that time by the Indian name of Old Tauwah, kept a good-sized inn on the corner of Seneca and Main streets, where Brown's building now stands. Old Uncle Reese, as he was called, the oldest blacksmith in town, had his shop located near the present custom house [Washington and Seneca streets].

On the west corner of Seneca and Main stood a tem-

* Main and Erie streets, present site of the American Express Company's building.

porary dwelling, occupied by Oliver Newberry as a grocery store. His trade was largely with the natives, as they were the most numerous at that day. There was quite a traffic in pelts and furs which Mr. Newberry, in a great degree, monopolized. Mr. Newberry was eccentric. He invariably wore an Indian blanket coat in winter. He was what was commonly called a self-made man, relying entirely upon his own good judgment in all matters of business; prompt and highly honorable in all his dealings. His memory seemed almost to preclude the necessity of keeping anything like a regular set of books. About the year 1824 or '25 Mr. Newberry located in Detroit, and from that period became identified with our lake marine, while at the same time he entered more largely into the fur and fish trade, generally furnishing freights for his own vessels, and for the last 35 years of his life was largely interested in the general commerce of the lakes. He built and put afloat quite a fleet of sail and steam vessels. He had a peculiar fancy for the names of his sail vessels, calling most of them after something connected with the history of Napoleon Bonaparte. Among them were the schooners Marengo, Napoleon, Marshal Ney, Austerlitz and Lodi. Others of his sail craft were the brig Manhattan and schooner Pilot. The Manhattan was one of the most finished brigs of her time; she was wrecked the second season in a snow storm on Point Abino. His steamers were the Michigan (the first and second), the Illinois (the first and second), the Oliver Newberry and the Nile. Mr. Newberry in earlier years was interested as a stockholder in many steamers besides his own. Some three or four were built under my supervision in which he was interested and was their agent and consignee at Detroit.

In this connection I must not omit to speak of General Charles M. Reed. Though not a resident of Buffalo it gives me pleasure to associate his name with the leading men who have been the means in years past of promoting the business of the lakes. His fleet of sail and steam vessels, the majority of which have been built and managed at this port, together with his large amount of real estate in our city, entitle him to more than a passing notice. Mr. Reed has been identified

with the lake marine almost from its infancy. Few men have contributed more liberally in creating facilities for the development of the Western States. From the first organization of the different steamboat lines his boats (with a few exceptions) always ranked among the first class. The names of his steamers were the William Peacock and Pennsylvania (these two boats commanded by our late fellow-townsmen, Captain John Fleeharty); the Thomas Jefferson, commanded by Capt. Thomas Wilkins, one of our veteran sailors; the James Madison, first commanded by Capt. R. C. Bristol, afterwards, and for many years, under the charge of Capt. McFadden, who was drowned some years since near the mouth of Green Bay, Lake Michigan; the Buffalo, commanded by Capt. Levi Allen; the Erie, commanded by Capt. J. F. Titus; the Missouri, under the command of Capt. Wilkins; the Niagara, Capt. W. T. Pease, and others; the Keystone State, Capt. Stone and Capt. Richards; the Queen City, named in honor of our city, was commanded by Capt. J. F. Titus, who after a period of 30 years sailing some of our best boats, was drowned in attempting to land passengers in a yawl boat on the coast of Lake Michigan, some years since. The steamer Buffalo was in part owned by Jacob A. Barker and Capt. Levi Allen. She was the fastest boat upon the lakes, in her time, until the steamer Cleveland came out; she was considered to be somewhat faster.

The Hollisters, William, the eldest, and his brothers, John, James, Joseph, Robert, George and Frank, are among the many men who have contributed their full share in years past to developing the resources of the West, and from an early date became interested in the commerce of the lakes. They have built and owned a large fleet of sail and steam vessels, among them the steamer Anthony Wayne, more commonly called Mad Anthony. She came out under the command of Capt. Amos Pratt. The steamer St. Louis and propeller Princeton were built by these gentlemen, and if I remember rightly, brought under the command of Capt. Pratt. The St. Louis was subsequently commanded by Capt. George Floyd. They also built the propeller Samson. She was commanded by Capt. Richard E. Robertson. The pro-

peller Hercules was under the command of Capt. Frederick Wheeler.

In 1817, as before stated, there were but 19 merchant vessels upon the lakes above the falls. Only eight of these vessels were over 50 tons burden. In 1818 the number had increased to 28, with an aggregate of 1,586 tons, including the steamboat Walk-in-the-Water, which came out that year. The number of seamen then employed on board these vessels did not exceed 180 all told. The English at that time had a few vessels in commission upon the lakes, not to exceed six in number, all small craft, except the brig Wellington of 165 tons, which was considered a large craft. She was owned by the British Northwest Fur Company, and commanded by Capt. McIntosh, a Scotchman. This brig, when under way, presented a fine appearance. She was the only craft of that rig upon the lakes at that time.

In 1832 the number of our vessels had increased to 47, including nine steamboats, with an aggregate of 7,000 tons. The whole number of steamers then afloat, did not exceed in measurement the tonnage of our present steamer City of Buffalo, all combined amounting to 2,026 tons. Yet these steamers were of sufficient capacity to do all the passenger business through the lake at that time. In fact there was an excess of boats, as the steamer Superior was laid up a portion of that season for want of sufficient traffic to keep her in commission. She was laid up under a charter from the other boats in the line for the sum of \$2500, but was fitted out for the purpose of making one trip in July to Chicago in the service of the United States Government, during the Black Hawk War of that year.

From that period ship-building greatly increased, as immigration began to pour into the Western States—Ohio, Michigan, Indiana and Illinois. In 1854 the tonnage was 132,000; in 1858 it had increased to 404,301, the aggregate of 1,194 sail and steam vessels giving employment to some 12,000 mariners; and at the present time, 1863, the number has increased to 1,643 steamers and sail vessels, with an aggregate of 413,026 tons, giving employment to some 16,000 mariners.

No steamboat had visited Chicago prior to 1832. In that year, four boats were chartered by the United States Government for the transport of troops, provisions and munitions of war to that port: The Henry Clay, under the command of Capt. Walter Norton; the William Penn, commanded by Capt. John F. Wight; the Sheldon Thompson, under my charge, and the Superior, under the command of Capt. William T. Pease. These steamers received \$5,500 each for their services, besides the amount charged for board of the officers belonging to the regiment.

The Henry Clay and Sheldon Thompson sailed from Buffalo on the morning of the 2d of July, 1832, laden with officers, troops and their equipments. The William Penn and Superior sailed a few days later, laden mostly with provisions, stores, etc., for the army. But owing to the sudden breaking out of the Asiatic cholera, two of these boats, the Henry Clay and Superior, were compelled to abandon their voyage, proceeding no farther than Fort Gratiot, the head of St. Clair River.

The Henry Clay arrived at Detroit a few hours in advance of the Thompson, and while lying at the dock two deaths occurred on board from the cholera. This created such alarm that the authorities of the city prevailed upon the captain to leave the dock. On my arrival at Detroit, I found she lay at anchor near the foot of Hog Island, some two miles above the city. Up to that time no signs of cholera had appeared on board my boat. After remaining a short time at the wharf, taking on board fuel, stores, etc., for the trip we got under way and went alongside the Henry Clay. At this time Gen. Scott, who was in command of this expedition, came on board my boat, accompanied by his staff and a number of volunteer officers and cadets, numbering some 40, including Gen. North and Col. Cummings, having been passengers thus far on board the Henry Clay. One company of some 50 soldiers, under Col. Twiggs, also came on board from the Clay.

Leaving her at anchor, we sailed, touching at Fort Gratiot, where we landed the same 50 troops and their baggage, which had entirely overloaded our little steamer; we

then proceeded on the voyage. The next day the *Clay* arrived in the St. Clair River. The disease had become so violent and alarming on board of her that nothing like discipline could be observed. Everything in the way of subordination ceased. As soon as she came to the dock, each man sprang on shore, hoping to escape from a scene so terrifying and appalling; some fled to the fields, some to the woods, while others lay down in the streets and under the covert of the river banks, where most of them died, unwept and alone.

There were no cases of cholera causing death on board my boat until we passed the Manitou Islands in Lake Michigan, though we left three sick soldiers and two of the ship's crew on Mackinaw Island, with sufficient means placed in the hand of our agent, Michael Dowsman, to defray their expenses. Three of the five died before we returned to that port. The first person who died on board, expired about four o'clock in the afternoon on the fifth day out, some 30 hours before reaching Chicago. As soon as it was ascertained by the surgeon that life was extinct, the body was wrapped closely in a blanket, with weights secured by lashings of small cordage around the ankles, knees, waist and neck, and then committed, with but little ceremony, to the deep. This unpleasant, though imperative duty, was performed by the orderly sergeant, whose name was Davis, with a few privates detailed for that purpose. In like manner 12 others, including this same noble sergeant, who sickened and died in a few hours, were also thrown overboard before the rest of the troops were landed at Chicago.

The sudden death of this veteran sergeant and his committal to a watery grave, caused a deep sensation on board among the soldiers and crew, which I will not here attempt to describe. The effect produced upon Gen. Scott and the officers was too visible to be misunderstood, for the dead soldier had been a valuable man, and evidently a favorite among the officers and soldiers of the regiment. He had been attached to the service for some 16 years, and at his death was about 40 years of age. His whole demeanor was

marked by the true characteristics of a soldier—brave, generous and considerate in the discharge of duty.

None of the officers of the army was attacked by the disease, while on board my boat, with such violence as to result in death, or any of the officers belonging to the boat, though nearly one fourth of the crew sickened and died on a subsequent passage from Detroit to Buffalo.

We arrived in Chicago, or rather came to anchor outside, on the evening of the 8th of July, 1832, being six days and over making the passage. The yawl boat was immediately lowered and sent on shore with Gen. Scott and a number of the volunteer officers who accompanied him on his expedition against the hostile tribes, who, with Black Hawk, had committed many depredations (though, perhaps, not without some provocation); compelling the whites to abandon their homes in the country and flee to Chicago, taking refuge in the fort for the time being. Before landing the troops next morning we were under the painful necessity of committing three more to the deep who died during the night, making in all 16 who were thus buried. These three were anchored to the bottom in three fathoms, the water being so clear that their forms could be plainly seen from our decks. This unwelcome sight so worked upon the superstitious fears of some of the crew, that I deemed it prudent to change anchorage. In the course of the day and night following, 18 others died and were interred on a rise of ground not far from the lighthouse (a spot where now stands a block of spacious buildings). The earth that was removed to cover one, made a grave to receive the next that died. All were buried without coffins or shrouds, except their blankets, which served as a winding-sheet, and there left without sign of remembrance or a stone to mark their resting-place.

During the four days we remained at Chicago, 54 more died, making an aggregate of 88. The scenes of horror occasioned by this singular disease, then so little known to medical science, it would be difficult to describe. Death in any form, even in its mildest aspect, is an unpleasant spectacle to behold, much more when we witness a disease prey-

ing upon the vitals, tearing the strong man asunder, relaxing and contracting the muscles and tendons, and drinking up the life's blood, causing the glassy and ghastly eye-balls to sink with horrid glare deep within their sockets—a hideous sight to contemplate.

On approaching Chicago we had found a number of sail vessels at anchor in the offing. As soon as it was ascertained that cholera was on board no time was lost in communicating from one vessel to another the intelligence, which induced them to weigh anchor at once and stand out to sea, hoping to escape the pestilence. In the morning some of these vessels were nearly lost in the distance, though in the course of the day most of them returned and re-anchored near by, in hailing distance. Among this fleet were vessels belonging to Owen Newberry, Degarma Jones of Detroit and Merwin & Giddings of Cleveland, Ohio. These vessels were employed in transporting provisions and stores for the Government to Chicago, and made a larger fleet than had ever been seen at that point before. The whole population of Chicago at that period, aside from a company of troops stationed there, did not exceed 45 or 50 souls. But few traces of civilization could be seen, after passing the Straits of Mackinaw. Nothing like lighthouses, or beacon lights, artificial harbors, and but few natural ones were in existence; no piers, wood or coal yards were established, and not a single village, town or city in the whole distance. Chicago then had but five buildings, three of which were log tenements; one of them, without a roof, was used as a stable; and two small frame dwelling houses, besides the lighthouse and barracks, better known as Fort Dearborn, which was evacuated for the accommodation of the sick troops. Major Whistler and Capt. Johnson of the army, and many others with their families, took shelter wherever they could—some in tents, others under boards placed obliquely across fences.

All the mattresses and bedding belonging to my boat, except sufficient for the crew, were taken by order of Gen. Scott for the use of the sick, the General giving his draft for the purchase of new bedding. This was not only a deed of mercy to the sufferers, but a matter of favor to me in pro-

curing a fresh outfit, so necessary after that disastrous voyage.

There was no harbor accessible to any craft drawing more than two feet of water, barely sufficient to admit the batteau in which the troops were landed. This batteau was towed by the Thompson from Mackinaw for that purpose and to aid in landing provisions from the sail vessels then in port.

But little could be seen where Chicago now stands, besides the broad expanse of prairie, with its gentle, undulated surface, covered with grass and variegated flowers, stretching out far in the distance resembling a great carpet interwoven with green, purple and gold; in one direction bounded only by the horizon, with no intervening woodland to obstruct the vision. The view, in looking through the spy-glass from the upper deck of our steamer, while laying in the offing, was most picturesque, presenting a landscape interspersed with small groves of underwood. The Chicago River, a mere creek, was fordable at its mouth, while it wended its way along the beach, flowing into the lake some distance south of its present junction. The provisions and stores brought by the sail vessels were landed on the beach, near the mouth of the river. I remained four days after landing the troops, procuring fuel for the homeward voyage. The only means of obtaining anything for fuel was to purchase the roofless log building, that, together with the rail fence enclosing a field of some three acres near by, was sufficient to enable us to reach Mackinaw. Being drawn to the beach and prepared for use, it was boated on board by the crew, which operation occupied the most of four days to accomplish.

After getting the fuel on board I was detained some six hours, waiting the arrival of a gentleman named Harmon, for whom I had dispatched a messenger, he residing some eight miles back in the country. At length he arrived and engaged to accompany me as far as Detroit and act as physician, having some knowledge in preparing medicines, being a druggist. During the delay in waiting for this doctor, the crew became uneasy to get under way, and leave

behind them the scene so fraught with horror. They had become almost mutinous. As soon as orders were given to get under way, the celerity with which the yawl was hoisted to the stern, was wonderful to see. With a will and a spirit of wild joy, accompanied by a hearty song of "Yo heave ho," they hove at the windlass; they seemed almost frantic with joy when the steamboat's anchor came in sight and her prow turned homeward.

We had no cases of cholera on our passage to Detroit. On our arrival at Mackinaw we were not suffered to land. The agent sent a batteau alongside with some provisions and the surviving man of my crew, with orders to take on board fuel some few miles distant on Boisblanc Island. While laying there the William Penn passed up, laden with stores and a few troops for Chicago. On our arrival at Detroit the excitement had abated, so that we were allowed to come alongside the dock. The physician returned across the country, after receiving the stipulated sum for his services, which was \$200, besides stage fare. When we arrived at Buffalo, we found the excitement, as well as the disease, had subsided, after sweeping away a large number of our citizens.*

The Walk-in-the-Water, the pioneer steamboat above the Falls, was built at Black Rock in 1818, under the supervision of Noah Brown of the firm of Adam and Noah Brown, who were then the most celebrated naval architects in the city of New York, having had a varied experience in that line, erecting ships for the ocean and for our navy on Lakes Erie and Ontario during the War of 1812. Mr. Brown brought with him from New York a gang of 30 ship-carpenters, and a foreman named Landsbury, who had charge of the yard. The facility with which this boat was built was due in a great measure to the mechanics of Black Rock. Messrs. Stanard, Bidwell and Davidson, with all the

* For an account of the ravages of this cholera epidemic in Buffalo, see *The Cholera in Buffalo in 1832*, by Hon. Lewis F. Allen, Buffalo Historical Society Publications, vol. IV.

carpenters in their employ, were engaged in the construction of that steamer. Her blacksmithing was mostly done by Henry Daw.

The Walk-in-the-Water was launched on Thursday, May 28, 1818. She was built sidewise to the river and launched in that way, which was rather novel at that time, but much practiced since, as it is found to be much cheaper and safer than the old way of launching stern foremost. She sailed on her first trip to Detroit, Sunday, Aug. 23, 1818, and from the account given in the *Niagara Patriot* of that time, she was hull down in less than two hours after the towline was cast off. She was never able to ascend the rapids with her own steam power. She was under the command of Capt. Job Fish, who came on from the seaboard for that purpose. Capt. John Davis, her first mate and pilot, was familiar with the navigation of the lakes. Capt. Fish was in command that and the following season, but from some cause was not very popular as a steamboat captain. In 1820 she was placed under the command of Capt. Jedediah Rogers from New York. Though his experience was limited as a sailor, he was in the broadest sense a gentleman, and his courteous manner made this boat quite popular with the traveling public.

This boat was first built by individual subscriptions by a few gentlemen residing at Albany, Troy and New York City. The manager, or agent, was J. B. Stuart, commonly called Sailor Stuart, a gentleman of fine address and good business qualities. In 1819 these gentlemen obtained a charter from the Legislature, enabling them to organize an association to be called the Lake Erie Steamboat Company, with a capital of \$76,000, an amount which probably more than covered the original cost of that boat, but whether the investment was ever a profitable one, may be doubted, as the expense of running the boat was great, and the number of passengers few. Yet from the exorbitant prices charged for passage at that period, it might be inferred that large dividends were made by her owners. The cabin fare was first fixed at \$8 from Buffalo to Erie, \$12 to Grand River, \$15 to Cleveland, \$20 to Sandusky, including the lighterage from

Cunningham's Island, which in those days was done in a sailboat, kept expressly for that purpose, as there was not sufficient water at all times to admit the steamer. The channel over the bar into Sandusky bay was scarcely six feet. The fare to Detroit was \$24, steerage or deck passage in the same proportion. In 1820 the fare was reduced from Buffalo to Erie, to \$5; to Grand River \$7, to Cleveland \$10, to Sandusky \$13 and to Detroit \$15. The mails were carried to the several ports by this boat, which, at that time, was considered an expeditious mode of transit.

In June, 1820, this boat made a trip to Mackinaw with United States troops. In August she made another trip to Mackinaw, an excursion of pleasure. The following year, 1821, she made a trip from Black Rock to Detroit, Mackinaw and Green Bay, having on board a detachment of troops under command of Major Watson. They arrived there after a short passage of eight days. She sailed from Black Rock the 28th of July, arrived at Green Bay the 5th of August, and returned to Black Rock on the 15th inst.

She was wrecked, Thursday, Nov. 1st, 1821, on the beach of the lake, near the south pier of our present harbor, after riding to anchor in the bay most of the previous night in one of those violent gales that often visited our lakes. She came on shore about five o'clock in the morning without any injury to passengers or their baggage. Capt. Wm. T. Miller, late of this city, was pilot on board at the time of the disaster.

She was about 150 feet in length, 28 feet breadth of beam and sufficiently deep in the hold to admit the main shaft to pass through her side some feet below the main deck. She was 338 80-95 tons custom house measurement. Her quarter, or poop deck, was raised five feet above the main deck, and through this bulkhead, or break, as it was called, was the companion door or entrance into the gentlemen's cabin, and immediately back of this was the ladies' cabin, divided by folding doors. The ladies' cabin was lighted by the stern windows, six in number, and by a narrow skylight, extending forward over the gentlemen's cabin. She had no upper deck; the lower or main deck served as a promenade, with

an awning stretched over it and the quarter deck in fine weather. Her steerage accommodations were located forward below decks.

She was rigged with two spars for the purpose of carrying sail. These masts were so arranged with tackles as to be easily lowered away on deck whenever the wind blew adversely. Her machinery was of that denomination called a square or cross-head low-pressure engine, quite complicated in its parts, with ponderous fly-wheels and a superabundance of counterbalance weight, which, at that day, was considered indispensable to aid in carrying the engine over the dead center, or point when steam has no power upon the piston. Her main cylinder was 40 inches diameter, four feet stroke; her boiler was some 14 feet diameter, of the most simple construction, with two large direct flues, and four return flues, terminating in the chimney above the arch of the furnace. About one fourth of the boiler was necessarily above the main deck, with circular covering or deck over it. Her wheels were 15 feet in diameter and five feet length of bucket. She had no guards except round the paddle-boxes. The average speed of this boat in favorable weather was about six or seven miles per hour. When the wind was fresh ahead she made a harbor, or came to anchor outside. She was rather an imposing-looking craft, having a finely set figurehead (the bust of Perry), and upon the stern, or taff-rail, were some beautiful decorations of heavy carved work, tastefully relieved by white, green and gold.

The engine of the Walk-in-the-Water, after she was wrecked, was placed on board the steamboat Superior, built at this city by the same company, and remained on board during her existence as a steamboat, then placed on the steamer Charles Townsend, commanded by Capt. Simon Fox; there used for many years. At this time, and for many years past, the main cylinder of that pioneer engine is now in daily use as a blowing cylinder in Shepard & Co.'s steam engine works in this city.

THE WRECK OF THE WALK-IN-THE-WATER,

PIONEER STEAMBOAT ON THE WESTERN LAKES.

BY MARY A. WITHERELL PALMER,

A passenger on its last trip, 1821.

COMMUNICATED TO THE BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY IN 1865.

The first steamboat built on the upper lakes was named the Walk-in-the-Water, not only for its appropriateness, but for a chief of the Wyandot Indians, who lived with his band about 12 miles below Detroit, on the margin of the Detroit River. His Indian name was Mier, and signified a turtle and his totem or signature was the figure of a turtle.

The boat was built at Black Rock, which place continued for some time to be her most eastern port and the terminus of her route, Buffalo at that time having no pier or dock to accommodate her. She was hauled up the rapids by 16 yoke of oxen, aided by the power of her engine. She made her trial trip in August, 1818. I was a passenger on her first regular trip as well as her last. She left Buffalo on her first regular trip, Wednesday morning, Sept. 1, 1818. She carried at that time considerable freight and a large number of passengers, among whom were the Earl of Selkirk, Lady Selkirk, and two children; Col. Dixon, the British Indian agent for the Northwest; Col. John Anderson, United States Engineer, his wife, and wife's sister, Miss Taylor; Col. Leavenworth, U. S. A., wife and daughter; Col. Joseph Watson of Washington City, and Maj. Abraham Edwards.

She reached Detroit about 9 o'clock Sunday morning, Sept. 5th, and as she ushered in a new era in the navigation of the upper lakes, her arrival was hailed with delight and announced by the firing of one gun, which custom was continued for many years. Capt. Job Fish, I think, was her commander at that time.*

It so happened that on my return from New York with my husband, Mr. Thomas Palmer, and his sister, now Mrs. Catharine Hinchman of Detroit, we arrived in Buffalo just in time to take passage on her last trip. She lay at the pier on the middle ground. We went on board in a yawl. The Walk-in-the-Water immediately got under way at 4 o'clock p. m., the last day of October, 1821, and steamed up the lake. Before we reached Point Abino the wind came on to blow a gale. Captain Rogers, her commander at that time, made every effort to get behind the Point, but the wind was too strong ahead. It rained incessantly, the night was very dark, and to add to the danger of the situation, the boat began to leak badly. About 8 o'clock, the captain, finding it impossible to proceed, put about and steered for Buffalo. The sailing master (Miller) proposed running the boat into the river and anchoring, but the captain said it was so dark that she might strike the pier in the attempt, and in such case no human power could save a soul on board. The boat was run within a few miles of the pier, as the captain supposed, no light from the lighthouse being visible, although as we afterwards learned it had been kept brightly burning. Three anchors were dropped, one with chain, and two with hempen cables. The boat plunged heavily at her anchorage. This, I think, was about 10 o'clock in the evening. The leak continued to increase. The whole power of the engine was applied to the pumps. The boat dragged her anchors.

* During her short career the Walk-in-the-Water carried many notable passengers; among others, Gen. Peter B. Porter, and other officials, of the U. S. Boundary Commission, under the Treaty of Ghent; Gen. Winfield Scott, and other officers and troops, en route to Western posts. It was customary, after a successful passage, for her officers to publish testimonials, signed by distinguished passengers, certifying to the safety, etc., of the steamer. The columns of the *Niagara Patriot* in 1819 and '20 contain several of these impressive vouchers, which pretty clearly indicate, by the emphasis laid on the boat's safety, that a part of the public must have steadfastly disputed that point.

The night was one of terrible suspense. It was the impression of the greater number of those on board that we should never see the morning. The water gained gradually, despite every exertion, and it became evident as the night wore on, that the boat must founder or be run on shore, which the captain concluded, either from the sound of the breakers or from calculation of distances and courses, could not be far off.

Most of the passengers were calm. One instance of coolness I remember. A Mr. Thurston, when requested to go on deck and prepare for the worst, replied: "No; I have great faith in Captain Rogers. He promised to land me in Cleveland, and I know that he will do it." He wrapt his cloak around him and lay down on a settee.

About half past four o'clock in the morning the captain sent down for all the passengers to come on deck. He had decided, although ignorant of the exact location, to permit the boat to go on shore. We could see no lights. The chain cable was slipped, and the two hempen ones cut. Drifting before the gale, the Walk-in-the-Water, in about a half an hour, grazed the beach. The next swell let her down with a crash of crockery and glass, and the third lifting her farther up the shore, fixed her immovably in the sand. The swells made a clean breach over the decks. Some of the ladies were in their nightclothes, and all were repeatedly drenched.

When daylight came, a sailor succeeded in getting ashore in a small boat with one end of a hawser, which he tied to a tree, the other end being tied on board. By the aid of the hawser all the passengers were taken ashore in the small boat. I was handed down by the captain to a sailor in the small boat, who placed me on a seat. My husband was not so fortunate. A swell carried the yawl ahead just as he jumped and he went into the water shoulder deep. Ashore, we found ourselves about a mile above the lighthouse* in

* Henry Daw's MS. history of the Walk-in-the-Water, in the Historical Society's archives, says: "about eighty rods east of the lighthouse." Not far from this spot the schooner Kingbird, bound for Portland, with a cargo of salt, was wrecked, Nov. 6, 1819. In the same gale the British schooner Elizabeth was blown ashore below the mouth of Buffalo Creek. These wrecks stimulated the citizens of the village of Buffalo in their determination to make a harbor.

dismal plight, but thankful for the preservation of our lives. In company with a Mr. Cahoon [Calhoun], who was engineer of the steamer, I ran to the lighthouse. After the lapse of so long a time, it seems to me that I almost flew along the beach, my exhilaration was so great.

The lighthouse-keeper, anticipating wrecks or disasters (I think signal guns had been fired during the night on board the Walk-in-the-Water), had a roaring fire in his huge fireplace, by which we remained until carriages came down for us from Buffalo. The citizens had supposed it impossible that the boat could live through the night, and when at break of day she was descried upon the beach, their efforts were directed to the care of the passengers and crew. All that could be done for our comfort was done. We were taken to the Landon House, a two-story frame building, then the principal hotel in Buffalo. It stood on the brow of the hill as we went up town from the creek.

We returned to Detroit by wagon, through Canada, a trip occupying two weeks.

The day after we got back to Buffalo Capt. Rogers called upon me, and, in the course of conversation, told me that his assurances to us of safety during the storm, were anything but heartfelt; that during the gale he had secured the boat's papers on his person, thinking that should the boat and he be lost his body would be washed ashore and they would be recovered.

Among the passengers now remembered, were Major Jed Hunt, Lieut. McKenzie, U. S. A.; John Hale, then a merchant of Canandaigua, afterwards a merchant of Detroit; Jason Thurston of Michigan, Rev. Mr. Hart, a missionary to Michigan, and wife; John S. Hudson and wife, and a Miss Osborn, who were on their way to Fort Gratiot, Michigan, to establish a mission for the Indians; Mr. and Mrs. Latimer, Mr. Palmer, myself and Mrs. Palmer's sister, now Mrs. Catharine Hinchman of Detroit.

A young gentleman of Buffalo, named J. D. Mathies, went down to the beach where the wreck lay, and being an amateur artist, took sketches of it in two different positions, painted them and sent them to me at Detroit. They are now

deposited among the archives of the Michigan Historical Society.

The deck of the Walk-in-the-Water was like those of sailing vessels of the present day. The cabins were beneath the main deck, the afterpart partitioned off for ladies; the rest was devoted to gentlemen and answered for a lodging, dining and baggage room. The mast ran down through the gentlemen's cabin, and that part in the cabin was set in octagon with small mirrors.

In visiting the wreck a few days after the disaster, I remember that, as it lay broadside on, I could almost walk around it dry shod, the sand had been deposited around it to such an extent. The oakum had worked out of the seams in the deck for yards, and the panel-work had become disjointed in many places.

NOTE.—There are in the archives of the Buffalo Historical Society numerous other MSS. relating to lake harbors and the early lake marine. Besides the voluminous memoranda of Capt. Augustus Walker already referred to (p. 287) there is a very detailed but unliterary history of the Walk-in-the-Water by Henry Daw, who helped build her; a picturesque memoir of Mr. Daw himself, by Henry W. Rogers; *A History of Black Rock Harbor, Pier, Water Power and Flouring Mills*, by Richard Williams; *Lake Travel and Building in Buffalo, 1823-'33*, being the recollections of Jesse Peck; miscellaneous papers of Capt. Daniel Dobbins relating to the lakes, 1812-1854; and numerous other unpublished records which shed light on the early years of lake traffic. Some of these will no doubt appear in subsequent volumes of the Buffalo Historical Society Publications; and all may be freely consulted at any time at the Society's building.

HOW NIAGARA WAS MADE FREE.

THE PASSAGE OF THE NIAGARA RESERVATION
ACT IN 1885.

BY THE HON. THOMAS V. WELCH,

Superintendent of New York State Reservation at Niagara since its establishment.

When the Legislature of the State of New York convened in 1885, preliminary steps for the establishment of the State Reservation at Niagara had been taken. In a message to the Legislature, Jan. 9, 1879, Governor Robinson referred to a conference with Lord Dufferin and suggested the appointment of a commission to confer with the authorities of Ontario concerning the preservation of the scenery of the Falls of Niagara. May 19, 1879, the Commissioners of the State Survey were instructed by a joint resolution of the Legislature, "to inquire, consider and report, what, if any, measures it may be expedient for the State to adopt for carrying out the suggestions contained in the annual message of the Governor with respect to Niagara Falls."

The commissioners instructed Mr. James T. Gardner, Director of the State Survey, and Mr. Frederick Law Olmsted, to make an examination of the premises and to prepare a plan for consideration. On March 22, 1880, Hon. Horatio Seymour, President of the State Survey Board, transmitted a special report to the Legislature on the preservation of the scenery of the Falls of Niagara; recommending the extinguishment of the private titles to certain lands immediately

adjacent to the falls, which the State should acquire by purchase and hold in trust for the people forever.

A bill to authorize the selection of lands for a state reservation in the village of Niagara Falls, was introduced in the Legislature in 1880, and passed the Assembly, but did not pass the Senate. In 1881 a similar bill was introduced in the Assembly by Hon. James Low, then representing the Second District of Niagara County; but owing to the well-known opposition of Governor Cornell to the project, the measure was abandoned. During the session of 1882, Governor Cornell being yet in office, no effort was made to secure the passage of the Niagara Reservation bill.

In November, 1882, Grover Cleveland was elected Governor. Being a resident of the western part of the State, it was assumed that he was in favor of the preservation of the scenery of the Falls of Niagara. On Dec. 6, 1882, a meeting of gentlemen was held at the residence of Mr. Howard Potter in New York City, to consider measures for the advancement of the Niagara movement. Addresses were made by Messrs. Olmsted, Potter, Dorsheimer, Norton, Harrison and others. A committee, consisting of Messrs. J. Hampden Robb, Buchanan Winthrop, James T. Gardner, J. T. Van Rensselaer and Francis H. Weeks, was appointed to proceed in the matter and to report at a future meeting, which was held at Municipal Hall, No. 67 Madison Avenue, on the evening of Jan. 11, 1883. Mr. D. Willis James presided. The committee, previously appointed, reported in favor of the formation of an association, the object of which should be the preservation of the scenery of the Falls of Niagara by legislative enactment. The organization was called "The Niagara Falls Association," and the following officers were elected: President, Howard Potter; vice-presidents, Daniel Huntington, Geo. William Curtis, Cornelius Vanderbilt; secretary, Robert Lenox Belknap; treasurer, Chas. Lanier; executive committee, J. Hampden Robb, Buchanan Winthrop, James T. Gardner, J. T. Van Rensselaer, Francis H. Weeks, Robt. W. DeForest; corresponding secretary, Rev J. B. Harrison.

Invitations to become members were sent out by the

president, and soon the membership grew to 327, mostly residents of New York City and Boston, but including members from many of the cities of the Union, the nearest to Niagara Falls being Hon. Sherman S. Rogers of Buffalo, and the farthest away being Mrs. Brown and Alex. H. Brown, M. D., of London, England. The eighth name upon the list of members is Edward D. Adams, afterward president of the Niagara Falls Power Company. Many women were included in the membership of the association. Each member paid an entrance fee of \$10, by which means a fund of \$3,270 was accumulated, which was increased by donations. The Niagara Falls Association was destined to exercise a great influence in favor of the passage of the Niagara Reservation acts of 1883 and 1885.

A bill, drawn by the direction of the executive committee, was introduced by Hon. Jacob F. Miller of New York City, and passed the Assembly and Senate, and on April 30, 1883, was signed by Governor Cleveland and became a law. William Dorsheimer, Sherman S. Rogers, Andrew H. Green, J. Hampden Robb and Martin B. Anderson were appointed commissioners under the act of 1883. On June 9, 1883, they met at Niagara Falls and selected the desired lands. A survey by the State Engineer was ordered, and it was made under the direction of Thomas Evershed, Division Engineer of the State canals, whose name will be forever associated not only with the preservation of the scenery of Niagara, but with the utilization of Niagara's power.

The making of the survey was a long and difficult work. During the legislative session of 1884, additional legislation, introduced by Hon. George Clinton of Buffalo, was obtained relating to the appraisement. Early in 1884, Luther R. Marsh, Pascal P. Pratt and Mathew Hale, appraisers, were appointed, and the work of appraisal was carried on during the summer months. At its completion their report was made to the commissioners, and by them submitted to the Supreme Court, by which it was confirmed. The total awards were \$1,433,429.50.

Such was the situation at the opening of the legislative session of 1885, when an application was made for an ap-

propriation to provide for the payment of the awards made for the lands selected and located by the Commissioners of the State Reservation at Niagara, and it is toward the successful efforts made to obtain such appropriation that special attention is directed.

A bill was prepared, providing for the appropriation of the total amount of the awards out of any moneys in the State Treasury, applicable to the purpose. This proposition was not looked upon with favor by the State officers who did not wish to quit office with a depleted treasury, such as this measure would entail. This feeling was strongly expressed by Comptroller Chapin, who, as Speaker of the Assembly, in 1883, withheld the announcement of the result of the vote upon the Reservation bill until a sufficient number of votes could be obtained to secure its passage. This feeling was also shared by the State Treasurer and the heads of other departments, and it soon became evident that the State officials at Albany looked upon the measure with coldness and alarm.

After the organization of the Legislature, Hon. Walter P. Horne, then representing the Second District of Niagara County in the Assembly, stated that the sentiment of the members appeared to be unfriendly, and that the prospects for the passage of the measure were not favorable. In many counties of the State, granges and other organizations of farming people had adopted resolutions denouncing the measure, and in consequence the opposition to the measure was especially strong among the rural members. Fortunately, one of the Reservation Commissioners, J. Hampden Robb, a leading member of the Niagara Falls Association, was also a member of the Senate, and a watchful observer of the situation, and it soon became evident to him that the passage of the Niagara Reservation act would require the active and earnest co-operation of all the friends of the undertaking. At Senator Robb's request the writer met him at Albany, and we went together to the Comptroller's office. Two years previously we had taken the draft of the preliminary bill to Governor Cleveland, to ascertain if he would name the commissioners or if they should be named in the

bill. He said that while he did not ask to be allowed to name them, that he would do so if desired, adding significantly that if the Reservation were to be established, the sooner it were done the better, as it could be done much more reasonably at that time than in 10 or 15 years in the future.

On this occasion Comptroller Chapin being absent, we were received by the Deputy Comptroller, Thomas E. Benedict, who said he was sorry to see "two such good fellows" there upon such a mission. In the Legislature of 1883, Mr. Benedict, then a Member of Assembly from Ulster, had been the most outspoken opponent of the Reservation bill, upon grounds of public policy and economy. He greatly magnified the actual cost of the undertaking, and ridiculed the idea of people bowing down to worship a waterfall. Ten years afterward, when he was Public Printer at Washington, under President Cleveland's Administration, he saw Niagara for the first time, and he expressed the opinion that it never should have been private property.

Mr. Benedict stated to us that in his opinion the proposal to withdraw one and a half million of dollars from the State Treasury, for such a purpose, would never be sanctioned. He added that the Deputy Attorney General, who had apartments in the same house as Mr. Benedict, had mentioned to him a way in which it might be accomplished and he advised us to go and confer with him. This suggestion from an honest opponent, proved to be the guidance to the road to success.

The Deputy Attorney General of the State at that time was Isaac H. Maynard, afterward Judge of the Court of Appeals. He outlined to us the plan which he had mentioned to Mr. Benedict, which was, for the State to issue bonds for \$1,000,000, payable in 10 annual installments, and to pay the remainder of the awards out of the funds in the Treasury. He stated that the Constitution of the State permitted the issue of bonds for \$1,000,000, for a public purpose, and he gave it as his opinion that the case in point came within the purview of the Constitution. At our request he drafted a bill in accordance with the plan outlined by him, and after some amendments had been made to it, it was sub-

stituted for the bill first prepared. This bill, Assembly Bill No. 490, was afterwards introduced by Hon. Walter S. Hubbell of Monroe, and was referred to the Committee on Ways and Means.

The meeting with Senator Robb resulted in the commencement of an agitation for the passage of the bill. It was arranged that the Niagara Falls Association should send its corresponding secretary, Mr. J. B. Harrison, throughout the State, to bespeak the coöperation of the editors of newspapers and magazines, writers, college professors, clergymen, and professional and business men generally; the idea being, as Mr. Harrison expressed it, to make as many people think Niagara, and talk Niagara, as was possible. It was also decided that a citizens' committee should be organized at Niagara Falls to coöperate with the Niagara Falls Association. The work done at Niagara Falls was so effective that a record of it should be preserved.

A meeting of a number of prominent citizens of the village of Niagara Falls was held to hear the report of the conference with Senator Robb at Albany, and to consider measures to be taken to aid in passing the Reservation bill. Various propositions were discussed, and finally a plan suggested by the writer was adopted. This, in brief, was, that he should write to each Member of Assembly for the years 1882, 1883 and 1884 with whom he had been associated in Albany and ask each one to send him the names and post-office address of 20 or more of the most influential citizens of his Assembly district, and that each of such prominent citizens should be requested to write to his representatives in the Senate and Assembly, asking them to favor the passage of the Reservation bill.

Among the active members of the committee were Messrs. Delano, Gaskill, Spaulding, A. H. Gluck, Kinsley, Cutler, Low, Flagler and Schoellkopf.*

* At the opening exercises, July 15, 1885, the Citizens' Committee also included Messrs. S. M. N. Whitney, S. Geyer, E. M. Clark, H. S. Ware, A. W. R. Henning, Hon. S. S. Pomroy, Hon. W. P. Horne, Hon. Wm. Pool, Hon. P. A. Porter, H. Nielson, M. Harrington, G. M. Colburn, C. O'Loughlin, Benj. Rhodes and J. Binkley.

For convenience the Spencer House was made the headquarters of the committee. Mr. Alvah Cluck, the proprietor, generously placed a room on the first floor at their disposal. Mr. A. H. Gluck was earnest and active in his coöperation, doing everything in his power promptly and cheerfully, and his enthusiasm and the many facilities afforded by the hotel aided largely in carrying on the work. Mr. Frank Davidson, clerk in the office of the International Hotel during the summer of 1884, was employed as clerk. This selection was most fortunate. The work entrusted to Mr. Davidson was performed with intelligence, rapidity and thoroughness, the evidences of which are existing. After the work was completed, documents compiled by Mr. Davidson were used with advantage by the Forestry Association of the State. As the work proceeded Mr. David L. Lanigan was also employed and rendered efficient service. Numerous employes of the Spencer House and others were drafted into service, from time to time, as emergency required. The zeal of Mr. A. H. Gluck was such that it seemed as if the entire staff of the Spencer House were liable to enrollment at any time to aid in the prosecution of the work. The following letter was sent to each Member of Assembly for the years 1882, 1883 and 1884:

NIAGARA FALLS, Jan. 26, 1885.

DEAR SIR:—Our former pleasant association together in the Assembly induces me to write to you about the bill to be introduced at this session "For the Preservation of the Scenery of the Falls of Niagara," and to open the grounds around them to the public, free of charge, for all time to come.

The state of affairs existing here at present is a disgrace to the American people and especially to the State of New York, which holds the great cataract within its boundaries. May I ask you to aid in the work of preserving and restoring the Falls of Niagara to the people, by sending to me, on the enclosed blank, by return mail, the names and addresses of twenty or more of the most influential citizens of your district? I will be very glad to get a line from you. Your kind attention will oblige,

Very sincerely yours,

THOMAS V. WELCH.

With each letter there were enclosed a blank form for names and addresses, and a stamped and addressed envelope for the reply. The letters received in reply are now bound and make a good-sized volume. They form a consensus of opinion from all the counties of the State upon the Niagara movement of that year. Some of them treat quite at length upon questions of public economy, taxation and state policy. Some of the legislators and ex-legislators thought the Nation, and not the State, should take measures to preserve the scenery of Niagara. Others feared it would lead to a public scandal similar to that incurred in the construction of the new Capitol. Still others regarded it as the entering wedge to the gigantic Adirondack Park scheme, which they condemned. This feeling of opposition manifested itself in sections so near to Niagara as to occasion surprise. John H. Rochester, Secretary of the Mechanics' Savings Bank of Rochester, wrote:

Our Member of Assembly writes me as follows: "You can have no idea of the amount of pressure which is being brought to bear on me in opposition to this bill. Some of Rochester's most prominent citizens have been here to advise me to oppose it, and I am daily in receipt of letters asking me to take that course, and threatening me with political oblivion should I vote for the bill. I have also been asked to introduce a bill, to submit the proposition to a vote of the people, at the next general election. . . . As I am not cowardly enough to dodge the question I will endeavor to do that which will be pleasing to my friends and vote for it."

Francis Hendricks of Syracuse, afterwards Collector of the Port of New York, said it would have to wait, with other similar schemes, until the then existing financial depression should be dispelled. C. E. Smith of Yates, and others, said they had received remonstrances and would vote against the bill. John E. Cady of Tompkins said that, excepting some professors in Cornell University, 20 persons could not be found in his county who favored the bill. E. A. Nash of Cattaraugus replied in a fashion somewhat Milesian: "Somewhere in that locality is a gentleman by the name of C. B. Gaskill. Does he look with any degree of favor upon the project?" Osborne of Albany replied that he had re-

ceived a letter from Benson J. Lossing, the historian, who resided in his county, urging him to favor the passage of the bill. William F. Sheehan stated that he would do all in his power to bring about the passage of the bill; and most important of all General James W. Husted, the leader of the majority in the Assembly, wrote: "I am as earnestly in favor of the Niagara Park as yourself, and I will do all that lies in my power to secure the passage of the bill." Senator Titus wrote: "I have always favored the project and will vote for it when it comes up," which he did and advocated and defended it on all occasions in the Senate. Many of the rank and file responded in terms of personal good will, but added that before committing themselves upon the measure they desired to ascertain the wishes of their constituents, and that they would be governed by them.

To reach their constituents was the next step in order, for which purpose the names of prominent persons in the several counties of the State had been requested. Nearly every person addressed, whether friendly or unfriendly toward the bill, complied with the request for a list of names. The lists received are bound in a volume, and after deducting duplicate names sent in some instances, it contains the names and postoffice addresses of over 4,000 citizens, prominent in the several counties of the State in the year 1885. In many instances a list is headed by a name so prominent as to at once make known the "local habitation" of its associates following it. For example, Grover Cleveland, Horatio Seymour, R. E. Fenton, Samuel J. Tilden, Lucius Robinson, Seth Low, Geo. B. Sloan, James J. Belden, D. W. Powers, Pascal P. Pratt, G. T. Williams, Geo. William Curtis, Erastus Corning and E. L. Pitts.

For many reasons it was thought best to seek the co-operation of these thousands of prominent citizens of the State, through the Niagara Falls Association. A letter was prepared by the writer and forwarded to New York for the signature of the president and secretary of the association, and 5,000 copies of it were lithographed on the letterhead of the association at the office of the *Evening Post* newspaper in New York City. The letterhead contains the names of

the officers and executive committee of the association, which included many prominent citizens of the City of New York. The following is a copy of the circular letter :

NEW YORK, Feb. 20, 1885.

DEAR SIR:—The question of preserving the scenery of the Falls of Niagara from destruction, and of opening the grounds around them to the public, free of charge, for all time to come, has been in agitation since Governor Robinson, in 1879, called the attention of the Legislature to the advisability of appropriate action.

All the preliminary legal steps have been carefully taken by the State and a bill is now pending in the Legislature to accomplish the final result.

The state of affairs at present existing at Niagara Falls is a reproach to the American people, and especially to the State of New York, which holds the great cataract within its boundaries. The preservation and free enjoyment of its beauty and grandeur appeal to the best impulses of our natures, and to the intelligent patriotism and culture of the people of our State.

We take the liberty of earnestly asking you to aid in the work of saving Niagara, by at once writing a letter to your representative in the Assembly, urgently requesting him to vote in favor of the measure. We enclose a blank for that purpose, and ask you, also, to kindly advise us by return mail, if you will coöperate with us as requested.

Very respectfully yours,

HOWARD POTTER, *President*.

ROBT. LENOX BELKNAP, *Secretary*.

A copy of this letter was mailed to each person whose name and address had been obtained. Enclosed with it, as stated in the letter, were a blank envelope, stamped, and containing a sheet of paper for use in writing to the representative in the Legislature; also a printed form, enclosed in a stamped envelope addressed to the corresponding secretary of the association for use in replying to the association as requested. In this manner every precaution was taken in order that any well-disposed person, on receipt of the letter, might have *at hand* the materials for complying with the request of the association without any expense or delay.

The replies received by the secretary of the association are bound in four volumes, each reply giving the names of

the Senator or Assemblyman who had been requested to vote for the Reservation bill. Sometimes copies of the letters sent to Senators and Assemblymen are appended, and also copies of the replies received from the legislators. More frequently a foot-line gives the substance of a reply from Albany, or the result of an interview with a representative, or contains a promise to call upon the member on his return home.

The foot-lines and letters are highly interesting reading, and contain opinions, good and bad, freely expressed, concerning representatives in the Legislature, some saying that they have absolute confidence in their members to act wisely upon the proposed measure; and others denouncing their representatives as corrupt, venal and untrustworthy. Rev. Howard Crosby's sarcasm is hardly creditable to him, when he says: "I have been ill, but I would now send the letter, if I knew who was Senator from my district." His Senator was Hon. James Daly, one of the foremost advocates of the Reservation bill. Some of the letters contain flat denials to comply with the request. John I. Platt of the *Poughkeepsie Eagle* wrote: "We regard this Niagara Falls scheme as one of the most unnecessary and unjustifiable raids upon the State Treasury ever attempted, consequently we shall *not* write any letters in its favor, but shall oppose it in any way that seems effective." The clerk into whose hands this letter fell marked it "N. G.", which mark it still bears. A few years ago Mr. Platt visited the State Reservation. He was deeply interested in its management, and seemed to have lost all of the bitterness manifested at the time of the passage of the bill.

Some denounced the bill as a "job" and a "steal," and berated Niagara Falls and its citizens, particularly the hackmen, hotelmen and bazaar-keepers, as sharks and swindlers, who had robbed the people individually and were now seeking to rob them collectively. They said they would oppose the bill by every means in their power; hoped it would be defeated; and then they returned the form for a reply without having the courage to sign their names to what they had written. These bursts of temper were mildly suggestive of

strangers who had visited Niagara and had suffered at the hands of her showmen in the golden days of Niagara cabmen, now forever flown.

J. P. Austin of Unionville wrote that opponents were circulating a remonstrance in that village and asserting that the tax upon that town for the Reservation would be \$20,000. He wished to refute this statement. Many were outspoken in favor of the bill. Benj. Doolittle of Oswego wrote: "I am heartily and earnestly in favor of the passage of this bill, even if the State has to pay largely for it. It is one opportunity of a life-time. Am willing to pay my portion of the tax. Go ahead!" H. H. Frost said: "The *East Norwich Enterprise* [of which he is editor] has its columns open in behalf of the bill." "C. Hitchcock, Pres., for the Board of Trustees of Homer Village," Cortland County, is signed to one of the replies. Seth Low, then Mayor of Brooklyn, asked for a copy of the bill and information concerning its situation in the Legislature. A. Wentworth of Randolph, Chautauqua County, wrote that he had written to his member, adding: "I received the request from Hon. B. Flagler of Suspension Bridge." Thomas Evershed of Rochester asked: "Would a good copy of the map of the Reservation be of assistance?" S. M. Smith of Dunkirk, whose handwriting appears to be that of an old man, wrote that he also induced George Isham, Byron Rathburn and George E. Blackburn to write to Senator Vedder. Robert Jones of Syracuse, Stephen D. Perkins of Little York, S. V. Terrell of Brooklyn and others wrote, stating the number of persons they had induced to coöperate. Pascal P. Pratt of Buffalo wrote: "My services are at the command of the Niagara Falls Association, and I am willing to do all I can to promote the object sought." Thompson Kingsford of Oswego wrote: "I have this day mailed a letter to our representative in the Legislature, Hon. Henry C. Howe, requesting him to support the bill 'To preserve the scenery of the Falls of Niagara.'"

One of the most enthusiastic and effective laborers for the bill was Prof. E. Chadwick, who wrote from Canandaigua that he had written to Senators Raines and Robinson

and Assemblyman Clark E. Smith of Ontario and Yates counties, requesting them "to use voice and vote to preserve the scenery of the Falls of Niagara by proper legislation and make its beauties free to all, like the sun in heaven." To make his letter as effective as possible he had it endorsed in Canandaigua by county officers, ex-county officers, ex-senators, ex-assemblymen, attorneys and bankers, 20 of whose names are given, and then he added, "and others"! W. A. Wadsworth wrote from Washington: "Considering what the State has paid for the Capitol at Albany, the price asked for the Falls of Niagara seems reasonable enough." A. Winters of Cannonville, speaking of his visits to Niagara, said he was "always pleased with the *scenery*, but did not like the *robbery*." S. M. Shaw of Cooperstown, referring to our one-time townsman, Hon. W. Caryl Ely, then representing Otsego County in the Assembly, said: "There is no use in writing to our Member of Assembly on the question of appropriations. He is a man of positive views and convictions, and I do not feel at liberty to ask any favor in the direction you request." S. M. Thurber of East Worcester, Otsego County, wrote that he had written to his representative in the Assembly, W. Caryl Ely, asking him to vote for the bill. In a foot-note marked "*Personal*"—which injunction may now be fairly taken to be outlawed—he adds: "If you have any doubt about this *vote* write me at once." It also appears that G. Pomeroy Keese and Theo. C. Turner of Cooperstown, John McCarthy of Middlefield, E. L. Gustin of East Worcester, S. M. Ingalls of Springfield, J. K. Leaning, M. D., of Fly Creek, George Merritt, M. D., of Cherry Valley, G. Hyde Clarke of Hyde Hall and others wrote to Mr. Ely in like manner. Mr. Ely voted for the bill. Edward Wait of Lansingburgh stated that he had written to his member, asking him to vote for the bill "and also, if possible, to have a clause in the bill providing for the occasional hanging of a hackman of that locality."

Very Rev. P. V. Kavanagh, president of Niagara University, sent copies of the circular letter to the alumni of the college residing in the State. Among the names of clergymen scattered through the four volumes of replies, appear

the signatures of Bishop Ryan, Fathers Bloomer, McNabb, Darcy, Maloy, McShane, Biden, O'Connor, Sullivan, Daly, Grattan and the venerable Father Sylvester Malone of Brooklyn, regent of the University of the State of New York. Near home, appear the familiar and welcome signatures of Rev. Foster Ely of Lockport and Rev. John S. Bacon of Corning. About the middle of volume four is the trembling signature of the venerable Gouverneur Morris, and a little farther on in the same volume, although the leaves are put together at haphazard, bunched together, are the signatures of Albert Bierstadt, Charles A. Dana, Wm. H. Seward, Reuben E. Fenton, Francis Kernan and Benson J. Lossing, the historian.

Whatever of added interest or value among the replies received, a thorough acquaintance in the State might reveal; in turning over the leaves, even an ordinary glance lights with pleasure on such signatures as Wm. A. Wheeler, Erastus Corning, Rufus W. Peckham, Theodore Vorhees, Edgar Van Etten, Thomas L. James, Thomas K. Beecher, Wm. Allen Butler, Ripley Ropes, Alfred C. Coxe, Pascal P. Pratt, John B. Stanchfield, Randolph B. Martine and many more of equal prominence and distinction. Clergymen, educators, editors and attorneys are well represented, as might reasonably be expected. Medical men are prominent, as seen by the frequent occurrence of the affix "M. D." after names. Large employers of labor, like Thompson Kingsford of the Oswego starch factory, are numerous; men whose voices are powerful in the halls of legislation—precisely the influence needed to secure the passage of the Niagara Reservation bill.

The month of January, 1885, was spent in dispatching letters to Members and ex-Members of Assembly, requesting the lists of names. The replies received were carefully noted in order to take advantage of any information or suggestion they might contain. The names received were arranged alphabetically, so as to avoid duplication. Frequent correspondence was had with the secretary of the Niagara Falls Association, the commissioners of the State Reservation, and their attorneys, Allen, Movius & Wilcox of Buffalo.

The attorneys were at that time endeavoring to draft the Reservation bill so as to meet the views of the commissioners and certain of the State officers. Under date of Jan. 21, 1885, Ansley Wilcox wrote:

BUFFALO, N. Y., Jan. 21, 1885.

HON. THOMAS V. WELCH,
Niagara Falls, N. Y.,

DEAR SIR:—I send you today, as I promised, our draft of the bill to be presented to the Legislature by the Commissioners of the State Reservation at Niagara. As I wrote you on Monday, the form of this bill has not been approved by the Commissioners, and we shall urge them very strongly to change it materially, although it is now drafted in accordance with their suggestions. We think that the two parts of the bill, the one appropriating money for the payment of the awards, so as to clinch the legal proceedings, and the other, providing for the powers and duties of the Commissioners in the future, should be separated, so that the appropriation bill may be presented to the Legislature unincumbered by any such details, and afterwards the other bill may be introduced separately. We have very little doubt but that the Commissioners will accept this view.

Then as to the appropriation bill itself, we do not think the form in which it is embodied in the first three sections of the bill, enclosed herewith, will be adopted. We think, and this view we have formed after consultation with Deputy Comptroller Benedict, that all that is necessary for us to do in our bill, is to provide for the appropriation of the money to pay the awards, and give explicit directions as to their payment. The matter of raising the money by a tax need not be provided for in this bill, and the Deputy Comptroller seemed to think that it was better for us not to undertake to provide for it. We have not been able to see Mr. Chapin, the Comptroller, himself, on this point. . . .

I was in Albany yesterday, and had a chance to consult Mr. Robb, and other persons, in regard to the prospects of the appropriation. All seemed to think that the occasion is favorable, and the prospects are very good; but it will require vigorous work to get it through in time, if any opposition is developed. Yours truly,

ANSLEY WILCOX.

Early in February a conference was desired concerning the provisions of the bill, which had not yet been introduced. At this time printed statements were sent to each member of the Legislature, probably by the State granges, denouncing

the Reservation bill, and giving, in greatly exaggerated figures, the estimated tax on each of the rural counties. To counteract this an official statement was obtained from the Comptroller's office, giving the assessed valuation of the property in the State, and the tax rate that would produce a million and a half of dollars. This statement was widely published through the State.* The first lot of the circular letters, about 1,000 in number, were mailed by messenger in Buffalo. The postoffice officials in Buffalo did not understand why Niagara Falls matter should be mailed in Buffalo and questioned the messenger closely. Thereafter the mail matter was sent by express to New York City and mailed at that point.

Charles S. Fairchild, chairman of the executive committee of the Niagara Falls Association, informed the writer that he would be obliged to turn the work over to other hands in order to accept the office of Assistant Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, which had been offered to him through Mr. Daniel Manning. He requested a conference on the further prosecution of the work. When the first lot of circular letters was mailed the writer immediately took the train for New York in order to be upon the ground to note the result of the work that had been done. The headquarters of the association were at the office of Robb & Peet, 17 William Street. Mr. Robb was in Albany attending to his duties as a Senator, and the office was in charge of his clerk, Charles F. O'Keefe, who devoted nearly all his time to the work of the association. For four months he received the mail of the association, forwarded a large part of it to Niagara Falls, obtained and forwarded stationery and printed matter, sought out influential people and delivered letters to them, and by his prompt and courteous attention to every detail, in many ways assisted in carrying on the work.

Mr. Fairchild was succeeded as chairman of the executive committee by Francis H. Weeks of the law firm of DeForest & Weeks, 120 Broadway, who conducted the work with great ability, heartily responding to every suggestion

* The assessed valuation in the State was \$3,014,591,372, on which a $\frac{1}{2}$ mill tax would produce \$1,507,295.69.

received from Niagara Falls, and giving his time largely to the work of the association.*

On arrival at the office of the association it was found that a number of responses from near-by counties had already been received. In a day or two the responses poured in with increasing rapidity, and although only a small portion of the circular letters had been mailed it soon became evident that already hundreds of letters had been forwarded to Albany from various counties in the State, requesting Senators and Members of Assembly to vote for the Reservation bill. In many cases the association also received letters from the persons addressed, expressing their sympathy with the movement and asking if there was anything more which they might do to further it. It having been demonstrated that a large percentage of the people addressed were responding favorably, the responses received were taken to Niagara Falls, and the work at that point urged on with renewed energy.

Feb. 18th, Senator Robb introduced the bill in the Senate. It was referred to the Finance Committee, and a hearing promised the week following. On the same day Senator Robb appeared before the Ways and Means Committee of the Assembly and procured a postponement of the final hearing on the bill to delay action introduced for Rowland F. Hill, one of the property owners, until such a time as a joint hearing could be arranged, which was to be attended by Sherman S. Rogers, Ansley Wilcox and others. On Feb. 19th, Hon. Walter Howe, from first to last an ardent friend of the measure, wired: "Hearing on Robb's Niagara bill next Thursday afternoon." The Niagara Falls Association gave substantial aid in carrying on the work at Niagara Falls.

On Feb. 25th, Senator Robb wired: "Hubbell introduced bill in the Assembly this morning, and hearing tomorrow afternoon is joint hearing both committees—and is on commissioners' bill only. Advise your being present."

* A year or two later Mr. Weeks gave valuable aid and counsel to those engaged in the work of obtaining capital for the construction of the hydraulic tunnel, the story of which has never been told.

Francis H. Weeks and Ansley Wilcox wrote to the same effect at greater length, saying that the commissioners and Mr. Fairchild were to be present and would remain in Albany for a day or two for consultation as to future measures to be taken for the advancement of the bill.

On the evening of Feb. 25th the writer took the train for Albany. In the smoking-room of the sleeping-car, which was found unoccupied, notes were made on a postal-card received from Mr. Delano for an address before the joint committee of the Senate and Assembly on the morrow, giving the history of the movement from its inception, quoting prominent men of both political parties who had put themselves on record in favor of it, among them the chairman of the State Committee, of each of the great parties, ex-Speakers Alvord, Littlejohn, Sharpe, Patterson and Sheard, Erastus Brooks, Poucher of Oswego, Thompson of Jefferson, Clinton of Erie, and Boynton of Essex, the chairman of the previous Republican State convention. The state of affairs existing at Niagara was given from a resident's point of view, and an effort was made to remove the idea that Governor Hill would veto the bill if it were passed, by pleading that Governor Cleveland, who made way for him, favored the bill, as also did Governor Robinson, his townsman, who originated it, and that Governor Hill would not be unmindful of these considerations.

The hearing before the joint committee, held in the Senate Chamber, Thursday afternoon, Feb. 26, 1885, drew a large audience, many women showing their interest in the bill by their presence. Senator Ellsworth and Assemblyman Horne were present. Addresses were made by Sherman S. Rogers, Senator Robb, the venerable Martin B. Anderson, president of Rochester University; members of the Niagara Falls Association and others. The opposition to the bill was stated in an able manner by Rowland F. Hill. Many questions were asked by the members of the committee, to ascertain if the lands selected were sufficient, or if the State would be called upon again to purchase more; if large annual appropriations would be required; if expensive artificial structures were contemplated; if it were probable that the

Dominion Government would follow the example of the State of New York; with many other inquiries and objections. At the close of the hearing the impression prevailed that the majority of the committee were in favor of the bill.

A meeting was held at the Spencer House, Niagara Falls, Feb. 27th, and a report made concerning the hearing at Albany. The work of sending out the circular letters was still going on. On March 9th Mr. O'Keefe wired: "Received 915 responses. They still continue coming in." Mr. O'Keefe was requested to forward all responses received to Niagara Falls immediately.

Two weeks elapsed and the bill was not reported either in the Senate or Assembly. On March 9th, Senator Robb wired: "Advise your coming at once to Albany," and on March 10th: "Lansing promises to report bill *for consideration*." On the evening of March 11th the writer started for Albany, and met Ansley Wilcox by appointment at the Central station in Buffalo for consultation. On arrival at Albany it was found that the majority feared that if the bill was passed, Governor Hill would veto it in order to make political capital for himself. Until some assurance to the contrary could be obtained they refused to report it from the committee. No intimation of the Governor's action could be obtained in advance, and in the meantime the bill was quietly "pigeon-holed." It was decided to make a special effort to have the bill reported by the Ways and Means Committee of the Assembly of which General James W. Husted was chairman. With this object in view, the writer went on to New York, armed with letters to many prominent people known to have great influence with the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee. A conference was had with Francis H. Weeks at his office, 120 Broadway. It was decided to seek personal interviews with Cornelius Vanderbilt, Chauncey M. Depew, Richard McCurdy, John McCook, C. A. Peabody, Jr., Rev. Edward McGlynn, and with Hugh McLaughlin, J. S. T. Stranahan of Brooklyn, and others. Mr. McLaughlin was found by the writer at his headquarters in an auction-room in Brooklyn. He read Senator Robb's letter, and then said: "Oh, yes; I know you. Our

boys have told me about you. All that's the matter with you is that you are too damned straight, but if you lived here in Brooklyn you would feel and act just as we do."

This had reference to many failures on the part of the writer to act with the Brooklyn delegation in legislative matters. Mr. McLaughlin inquired minutely concerning the condition of the bill, and the attitude of the Brooklyn members. He said that he was heartily in favor of the measure and would do all in his power to secure its passage. He then wrote a letter to the leader of the Brooklyn delegation, expressing his views, and requesting him and his colleagues to vote for the bill. This letter was subsequently delivered and produced the desired effect.

The sympathy and interest in the preservation of the scenery of Niagara displayed by "Boss" McLaughlin was in marked contrast with the coldness of ex-Governor Cornell. Meeting him upon the train between Albany and New York, he said to the writer: "Are you down here about that Niagara Park bill?" On being answered in the affirmative, he said: "It is well for you that I am not the one to deal with it." When asked, "Governor, you surely do not think it right that the Falls of Niagara should be fenced in, as they are at present, and the public charged to look at them?" he answered, "Of course I do. They are a luxury and why should not the public pay to see them?"

Governor Cornell's opposition to the measure was also in marked contrast with the deep interest manifested by another man whose name has since become widely known—Rev. Edward McGlynn, D. D. When his aid was asked in a letter from Rev. James A. Lanigan of Niagara Falls, he at once wrote to Senators Murphy, Cullen and Daly, saying:

I have been asked by the Niagara Falls Association to help them in their laudable effort to preserve the scenery, etc., of our famous Niagara, and as there is a bill to come before the honorable body of which you are a member, I write you specially to ask your vote in its favor and your influence among your associate members to the same end; as I am in full sympathy with this movement and think no petty parsimony, or sectional or selfish antagonism should stand in the way of a bill meant to preserve one of the glories of our State and country.

Very sincerely yours,

EDW. McGLYNN.

Mr. Stranahan was also interviewed and his coöperation obtained.

A call was made at the Grand Central station and a telegram was sent by Mr. Depew to Mr. Husted, asking that the bill be reported. Mr. McCook was found at the Equitable building, and a like telegram forwarded. Mr. McCurdy was seen at the Mutual Life building, and he cheerfully communicated with Chairman Husted. Several days were devoted to work of this kind. On March 20th an interview was had with Mr. Peabody. He immediately forwarded a telegram to Albany and requested another call at his office on the way up-town in the evening. On calling as requested he produced a telegram from Chairman Husted, saying: "Niagara bill special order Tuesday morning." The bill had been reported favorably in the Assembly after two weeks of labor to accomplish it.

On March 18th, A. Augustus Porter wrote favoring the proposed change in the bill, providing for the issue of bonds, and urging that the land-owners be given the option to take bonds in payment, saying: "This course would, I think, be most decidedly agreeable to those who now have land investments which the State proposes to throw into money for reinvestment." Although provision was finally made for an issue of bonds, which were taken by the State as an investment for the State funds, at this time the counsel for the commissioners was strongly opposed to such an amendment. The objections to it were thus stated by Mr. Wilcox:

HON. T. V. WELCH,

MY DEAR SIR:—Your favor of the 13th inst. received. The news is mixed, good and bad. I hope no amendment providing for issuing bonds will be tacked on *unless absolutely necessary—to prevent failure of the bill*. This subject has been fully discussed by Mr. Rogers, Mr. Dorsheimer and myself and we all agree that such a provision would be very dangerous. If anyone raised the point I think it would certainly be held to be unconstitutional.

To be sure, the point *might* never be raised—and if it were raised the courts would strain everything to help us through; so it might turn out differently from my expectations.

Again, if the first two sections are left *just as they are*, making an absolute appropriation and giving absolute directions for payment,

then the addition of an unconstitutional section providing for the issue of \$1,000,000 bonds would not invalidate the two preceding sections. They would stand independently and would operate on the money which is actually in the treasury. So in this view the addition would not be fatal to the project.

But why does anyone who has brains to comprehend the situation want such an addition? Why should the State borrow \$1,000,000 when it has \$2,500,000 surplus on hand, and nothing to do with it? I can't see. If you have a cash balance of \$2,500 lying idle in one bank, would you go to another and borrow money to pay your butcher's bills?

I expect to go to Albany Tuesday eve, or Wednesday eve at latest, and shall be there two or three days.

Yours very truly,

ANSLEY WILCOX.

P. S.—If it appears to be *necessary* to consent to any such addition to the bill I should advise that nothing be said about its being separable, as above suggested, from the other provisions of the bill, but that you simply insist on those provisions being retained in *precisely* their present form. A. W.

All of the large land-owners had appealed from the decision of the appraisers. They were especially strenuous concerning their claims for damages as riparian owners, claiming to own the *flum aquae*, or thread of the stream, and consequently the water power of the river. This claim the appraisers excluded, and the appeals followed. About the middle of March efforts were made to obtain stipulations for the withdrawal of the appeals which were endangering the passage of the bill. Those refusing to stipulate to withdraw their appeals in case the bill passed gradually were reduced down to Mrs. Burrell, Mr. Hill and the Prospect Park Company.

Nearly 5,000 circular letters had been mailed and about 1,500 responses had been received. That meant that 1,500 letters from all sections of the State had poured in upon the Legislature, asking the members to vote for the bill. Many who had decided to vote against it, when they found each morning on their desks letters from prominent citizens of their districts asking them to support it, changed their minds.

This change of feeling was gradually becoming apparent at Albany. But the opposition to the bill had also been developing and remonstrances were numerous, particularly from the farming counties. To counteract their effect, this petition was sent, first to those who had shown the most marked interest in the bill, and afterwards to all who had sent favorable replies to the circular letter:

*"TO PRESERVE THE SCENERY OF THE FALLS OF
NIAGARA."*

TO THE HONORABLE THE LEGISLATURE OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK.—We, the undersigned, citizens of the State of New York, believe it the duty of the State to do what it can to preserve the beauty of the Falls of Niagara, and to make the enjoyment of the same free to all persons. We are satisfied that, to fulfill this duty, the State must acquire the property selected by the Niagara Falls Commission, and that this can be done at less cost now than at any future time; while we fear, if the opportunity be now neglected, it will be lost forever, and that we shall see our State forever dishonored by abandoning the most beautiful and awe-inspiring work of nature upon our continent to ever-increasing disfigurement and desecration by a monopoly.

Mindful of all this, and of the fact that there is not one foot of land in the State of New York from which the Falls of Niagara can be seen without the payment of a fee, we do most earnestly petition your honorable body to do that which you now may to cure this disgrace and to redeem the name of the State of New York, by appropriating the sum which the Commissioners of Arbitration, appointed under the law of 1883, have determined should be paid for the property in question.

With the petition were enclosed a stamped envelope for its transmission to Albany, and a printed slip which read as follows:

DEAR SIR:—As you have shown an earnest desire to have the Falls of Niagara restored to the public, and to save *the* scenery of Niagara from destruction we appeal to you to obtain the signatures of *a few friends* and send the petition as quickly as possible to your Representative in Legislature at Albany. *It is of vital importance that this should be done at the earliest possible moment* in order to attain the object in view. *Do not hold petition more than two or three days.*

NIAGARA FALLS ASSOCIATION,

P. O. Box 105, New York City.

When the names signed to the responses were exhausted attention was turned to special sources from which assistance might be expected. Petitions were sent to the Alumni of Niagara University throughout the State, because of their knowledge and interest in the Falls and their surroundings. The coöperation of the Alumni of Cornell was also sought in a circular letter from James Fraser Gluck. The result of this work was that a flood of petitions poured in upon the Senate and Assembly from all sections of the State. Hon. John W. Vrooman, clerk of the Senate, stated that one morning it required two hours to read the headings of petitions in favor of the Niagara Reservation bill, and the remonstrances received were outnumbered more than a hundred-fold. Hon. Chauncey M. Depew had written letters to many prominent men in the State, and Mr. J. B. Harrison, the corresponding secretary of the Niagara Falls Association, was now started upon a tour of the State to deliver Mr. Depew's letters, and personally explain the situation of the bill in the Legislature. April 3d, he writes: "I have delivered Mr. Depew's letters—some 25—with others, going to Kingston, Saratoga, Amsterdam, Ilion, Utica, Syracuse, Auburn, Geneva, Canandaigua, Rochester, Batavia, Hornellsville, Elmira, Ithaca, etc. I found cordial coöperation everywhere. Public feeling is at its height and there is danger of delay as people everywhere are beginning the autumn political campaign."

Persons who had advocated the Reservation bill in the Legislature of 1883 were requested to telegraph to the Senators and Assemblymen asking them to vote for the bill. April 13th, Senator Robb telegraphed: "Will telegraph as many as possible." This was to ask the coöperation of ex-Members of the Legislature. A postal-card from Theodore Roosevelt said: "I will at once write or telegraph to everyone of those whom I know to ask their vote."

On April 2d, Senator Robb wrote: "I have not yet been able to have the bill reported though they promise to do so tomorrow, and when I went this morning to Lansing to ask why it was not let out he wished to know if they yet had Hubbell's bill. Altogether I am convinced that we are in

for a fight to make them let it out." The following day he telegraphed: "Bill reported amended, favorably; made special order for next Thursday." On Thursday he telegraphed: "Best we could do was to progress and make another special order for Tuesday morning next."

On the same day he wrote: "I have grave fears now that the measure will be lost, for it can readily be passed and yet go to the Governor in such shape as to prevent his signing it, or if recalled to meet his requirements cannot be returned to him in time." This refers to a provision of the act of 1883 that unless the bill became a law on or before April 30, 1885, all the proceedings would be void and of no effect. Meantime, by the efforts of Senator Titus, and Messrs. Husted, Horne, Hubbell, Sheehan, Cantor, Driess, Raines, Haggerty, Howe, Roesch, Ely, Kruse and other warm friends of the measure, the bill had been ordered to a third reading in the Assembly. When it came up for passage there was a large attendance of the friends of the bill, including members of the Niagara Falls Association. General Husted led the forces for the bill. Mr. Burnham of Wayne was the leading spokesman for the opposition. Then the results of the work that had been done under the auspices of the Niagara Falls Association became apparent. Mr. Hendricks of Onondaga and other members stated in the course of the debate that originally they had intended to vote against the passage of the bill, but that they had received letters and petitions from so many leading citizens of their districts asking them to support it, that out of deference to the wishes of such a large number of their constituents they would vote for the bill. When the roll was called the vote stood: Ayes, 78; noes, 22. The majority for the bill was decisive, notwithstanding the fact that the Speaker and several others who were expected to vote for the bill voted against it. The only clergyman in the Assembly, Rev. Dr. Olin, voted against the bill, while notwithstanding the remonstrances of the State Grange, the majority of the country members voted in favor of it.

When the bill reached the Senate it was substituted for the Senate bill, then in general orders. The bill was amended

in the Senate by Senator Ellsworth and others, and on April 14th, after four hours' debate, it was ordered to a third reading. It was reached April 16th and passed the Senate in its amended form by a vote of 26 ayes and 4 nays. The negative votes were given by Senators Comstock, Davidson, Low and Thomas. Senator Arkell was absent and Senator Esty was excused from voting. The bill having been amended in the Senate had to be returned to the Assembly for concurrence in the amendments. It had been arranged by Senator Robb that General Husted should take charge of the bill on its delivery to the Assembly and secure such concurrence as soon as possible. There being nothing objectionable in the amendments when the roll was called upon them in the Assembly, they were concurred in. The bill was now in readiness to be sent to the Governor for his consideration.

April 18, 1885, upon the invitation of Hon. O. W. Cutler (then editor of the *Lockport Union*), Governor Hill came to Niagara Falls for the purpose of making a personal examination of the premises proposed to be taken for a State Reservation. During the day he was driven around Goat Island, through Prospect Park, and along the river up as far as Port Day. Accompanying the Governor were his secretary, Col. Gillett, Hon. O. W. Cutler, Hon. Cyrus E. Davis, and the writer. At that time Bath Island* was almost entirely covered by the paper mill and other buildings used in connection with it. Prospect Park was surrounded by a high picket fence, and contained a store, dwelling house, and other buildings that have since been removed. The shore of the river between Prospect Park and First Street was occupied by mills, bazaars and hotels, stables, ice houses, bath houses, pump houses, laundries, sheds and other structures; many unoccupied and in various stages of decay. The Governor made an examination of the territory and buildings, and was also driven to the Whirlpool Rapids. After returning from the drive, standing by a window in

* Now named Green Island, in honor of Andrew H. Green, commissioner of the State Reservation since 1883, and for 15 consecutive years president of the Board of Commissioners.

the Hotel Kaltenbach and looking out over "The Green," in front of the hotel—at that time known as "The Wood Lot," and surrounded by a picket fence, with a frame store building adjacent to the Cataract House, and a horse shed on the upper end adjoining the Porter homestead—referring to Bath Island, the Governor said to the writer that he could not understand why the commissioners had included the island, with its costly paper manufacturing plant, in the territory to be taken for a Reservation by the State. As the paper mill on Bath Island, with its chimneys, shops, stables, sheds, straw stacks, fences, flumes and piers, was, of all the structures proposed to be taken, the greatest disfigurement of the scenery, because of its conspicuous location in the rapids just above the American Falls, and on the pathway of visitors to Goat Island, the Governor's observation gave rise to considerable alarm. Further than this somewhat unsatisfactory manifestation, the Governor gave no indication of the impression made upon him by his visit to Niagara.

That evening, after the departure of the Governor, the writer telegraphed to Senator Robb, at Albany: "Went over ground with Governor. Non-committal, but apparently favorable. May allow bill to become a law without signature, but think he will sign it, if earnestly urged."

The visit of the Governor left a feeling of uneasiness and uncertainty concerning the fate of the bill. On April 24th, Senator Robb wrote from Albany: "Matters continue uncertain, though a dispatch from Mr. Green (at New York), who has seen the Governor there today, telling me to introduce the 'supplemental bill' is encouraging. Hubert Thompson writes me that Hill told him the National Government ought to carry out the project, and I have just had a telegram from Weeks, who has also seen the Governor today, saying the latter doubts the constitutionality of the bill, as passed. There can be no harm now in putting on all the pressure we can, and the more letters we can get influential people to write the better." At this time it became known that for some reason the bill did not come into the hands of the Governor until four or five days after its passage—

probably after the 20th of April. Ordinarily, during the session of the Legislature, 10 days are allowed the Governor for the consideration of a bill, and if he does not approve it or veto it within that time, it becomes a law without his signature. In this case, according to the act of 1883, unless the bill became a law on or before April 30, 1885, all of the proceedings would be null and void. The 10 days allowed the Governor for the consideration of the Reservation bill would not expire until after the 30th of April. This caused great alarm among the friends of the bill, for it gave the Governor the opportunity, if he so desired, of evading the responsibility of signing or vetoing the bill. The measure would thus fail to become a law without any action on his part. On April 25th, the writer sent this telegram to Senator Robb: "Owing to neglect in sending Park bill to Governor in time it must have his signature to become a law. Can you use your influence with him through S. J. T.? Particulars by mail. Answer." Senator Robb replied: "Have been trying to secure influence you mentioned. Believe we have succeeded." It is hardly necessary to state that the influence referred to was that of the Sage of Graystone, Samuel J. Tilden, the political mentor of David B. Hill, who was Tilden's foremost pupil and disciple. How that influence was obtained, the nature and the weight of it, will be told in the course of this narrative.

Meantime friends of the measure, in and out of the Legislature, were requested to call on Governor Hill, or to write to him in behalf of the bill. Among others the Hon. James Haggerty, a leading New York member, wrote: "I called upon the Governor in relation to the Park bill; and urged him to sign it. While there a communication reached him from the Comptroller, pointing out certain defects in the bill. The Governor showed me the letter and impressed me with the idea that he did not attach much importance to them. My impression is that he will sign the bill. If he does not, then I will no longer have any confidence in my powers of perception."

The friends of the measure in New York City had readily secured the coöperation of the New York newspapers.

which were from day to day earnestly urging the approval of the bill. Henry W. Sackett, attorney for the *New York Tribune*, whose deep interest in the Reservation did not cease with its establishment, but has continued during all the years that have intervened, wrote, April 27th: "Our information is that the Governor will sign the bill. He was at Graystone last week, Friday, and the effect of his visit *appeared* to be marvelously good. But every one interested will breathe easier, when he knows the bill has actually become a law."

In this state of uncertainty a week passed away. It was a week of great anxiety for the friends of the bill, particularly for the people of Niagara Falls, who were most deeply interested in its fate. To them it seemed as if their hopes for the establishment of the Reservation were doomed to disappointment and all their labors to become of no avail. Rumors were rife concerning the intention of the Governor and the consensus of opinion was that he intended to allow the bill to die, in lack of his signature. This view of the matter seemed plausible, as only three days remained of the time allowed for action. Under the circumstances a conference of the members of the Niagara Falls committee was held, and, on the evening of April 26th, the writer started for Albany in order to be on the ground to render any assistance that might be possible. Before starting a telegram was sent to Hon. N. P. Otis, at Yonkers, asking him to call at Greystone, and, if possible, ascertain from Mr. Tilden the probable intention of Governor Hill concerning the bill. At Albany, the following morning, this reply was received from Mr. Otis: "Gov. Hill called on Mr. Tilden last Friday and the whole question was fully discussed. Mr. Tilden favors the bill, and is confident it will be signed." Amid the conflicting and often discouraging rumors of the next three days, this consoling message from Greystone was always kept in mind.

Hon. Mathew Hale, one of the appraisers of the lands for the Reservation, resided in Albany. One of the first steps taken on arrival in Albany was to confer with him concerning the bill in the hands of the Governor. Mr. Hale

stated that Judge Samuel Hand of Albany was the counsel to the Governor in legislative matters and that he was informed that Judge Hand had expressed an opinion to the Governor that the Reservation bill was unconstitutional, and he advised an interview with Judge Hand. On calling on Judge Hand he admitted that he had expressed an opinion to the Governor that he had grave doubts of the constitutionality of any bill calling for an issue of the bonds of the State for one million of dollars (the limit of the Constitution), for any purpose excepting a great public emergency. He said that he did not have the Reservation bill in mind when he gave his opinion to the Governor and that he was heartily in favor of it, and added that in a sense it might be considered a great public emergency, as the opportunity to establish the Reservation might not occur again. When asked if he would so modify his opinion expressed to the Governor he at length consented, and wrote a letter to that effect, and gave it to the writer to hand to the Governor.

When Governor Hill read the letter he threw it down upon his desk with a gesture of impatience, and said: "That's just the way with the damned lawyers; they will give you an opinion on one side of a question today, and on the other side tomorrow." Then, facing about, he said to the writer: "You remind me of a story of Cleveland. When he came to Albany, as Governor, it was said that he did not know much about the politics of the State. When an appointment of some kind was to be made, a delegation waited upon him and said: 'We are from St. Lawrence. You know, Governor, St. Lawrence is a Republican county. We think that one of our people should get this office in order to encourage our party in that section of the State.' And he got it. When another office was to be given, another delegation waited upon him and said: 'We are from St. Lawrence. You know, Governor, St. Lawrence is a Republican county. It is hard work for us Democrats to keep alive up there and we think this office should go to a St. Lawrence County man,' and it went accordingly. When yet another office was to be given out a third delegation waited upon him and began: 'We are from St. Lawrence. You know,

Governor, St. Lawrence is a Republican County—.' This was too much for Cleveland and he broke in with: 'Gentlemen, I may not know much about the politics of the State, but, damn it, I *do* know that St. Lawrence is a *Republican county!*' Now," continued Governor Hill, "you have done your duty. You have sent delegation after delegation to me, asking me to sign this bill. There may be some things that I do not know, but I *do* know that you people up in Niagara are in favor of this particular bill." There probably never was a man who could see through a thing of that kind more quickly than Governor Hill.

For several days prominent members of the Legislature had been asked to call at the executive chamber and speak to the Governor in favor of the bill. Among others, Senator Cantor, then a Member of Assembly, was asked. On his return he said: "There is no use of your sending any more people to the Governor. The moment I mentioned the matter he asked me if you had not requested me to speak to him."

A few days later the Governor told a somewhat similar story at the expense of Hon. Rufus W. Peckham, afterwards a Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, in about these words: "One morning Mr. Peckham came in to see me about some matter, and just as he was leaving he said to me: 'O! by the way, Governor, I sincerely hope you will give your approval to the bill for the establishment of the State Reservation at Niagara.' I said to him, 'Mr. Peckham, who sent you in here to pester me about that bill?' At this he became quite indignant and said, 'Governor, I hope it is not necessary for me to be *sent* here to speak to you in behalf of a bill to preserve the scenery of the Falls of Niagara. It is a measure that appeals to the mind and heart of every enlightened and patriotic citizen and I am surprised, Governor, that you should ask me such a question.' A few moments after his departure Senator Robb came hurriedly into the executive chamber. The moment I saw him I knew I had my man, and I said to him: 'Senator, why did you send Peckham in here to bother me about that Niagara bill?' At which Senator Robb said: 'Well, I saw him as he came

up the hill and asked him if he would not drop in and say a word to you in favor of it.' ”

During the three days spent in Albany the committee at Niagara Falls, the commissioners and attorneys, and the association in New York City were kept informed by letter and telegram of the prevailing indications. The telegram from Mr. Otis saying that Mr. Tilden was confident the bill would be signed was the only thing to which the friends of the bill could cling. At this time their patience was thoroughly exhausted. Their disappointment at the course pursued by the Governor was almost unbounded. Many of them gave free expression to their feelings. One, a State official, said: “Let him veto it, and we will kill him at the polls!” Another, a newspaper man, said: “If he vetoes it and becomes a candidate for reelection, I will put up my hired man against him. He would stand just as good a chance of election.” This feeling was particularly strong at Niagara Falls, where the strain was greatest. And subsequently, when Gov. Hill became a candidate for reelection, and probably expected a large complimentary vote at Niagara Falls, where the Reservation had been established, he did not get it, as he should have received it, although a special effort was made in his behalf. The people remembered that he had delayed favorable action upon the bill until the last moment, apparently forgetting that “the Lord loveth a cheerful giver.” On the other hand, when we remember that the bill was strongly opposed in the rural counties of the State, and that there was a large and influential body of our citizens who believed the project should be carried out by the National Government; when we consider that it was a new departure in State policy, which might lead to great abuses, and that many thought it highly imprudent to bond the State to the limit of the Constitution for such an object lest some great public emergency should arise, such as a calamity to the Erie Canal, for which there would be no adequate constitutional provision remaining, for which reason the bill was regarded with disfavor by the Comptroller and other State officers—it is not to be wondered that the Governor hesitated to give it his signature, and the fact that

he did not seek to score a point upon his political opponents who were in the majority in the Legislature and make political capital by vetoing it, but that he did give it his approval under such circumstances, entitled him to the gratitude of the citizens of Niagara Falls, which debt of gratitude was increased by his favorable action on all of the bills arising from the development of the water power at Niagara during the eventful seven years of his service as Governor of the State.

April 30th, the last day allowed by law, arrived, and the forenoon was spent in a state of feverish anxiety—not lessened by frequent rumors of a veto in the Senate or Assembly; some of them started in a spirit of mischief by the newspaper reporters. When noon came it seemed as if the bill would surely fail, for lack of executive approval. But the darkest hour is just before daybreak. Shortly after noon a newspaper man hurriedly came to the writer in the Assembly chamber and said that the Governor had just signed the Niagara bill. A hurried passage was made to the office of the Secretary of State to see if the bill had been received from the Governor. It had not been received. At that moment the door was opened by the Governor's messenger, who placed the bill in the hands of the writer, saying: "Here is your little joker." A glance at the bill showed it to be the Niagara Reservation bill and on the last page was the much-coveted signature of David B. Hill, rivaling that of Grover Cleveland in diminutive handwriting.

After telegraphing the news of the approval of the bill to Niagara Falls, Buffalo and New York City, in company with Hon. O. W. Cutler, who was also on the ground, a visit was made to the Governor to thank him for his action. The Governor was in the best of humor and recounted many amusing incidents of the way in which he had been besieged by the friends of the bill. On the way down the hill from the Capitol, with Mr. Cutler and Col. Gillett, a stop was made at "Thornton's" for refreshments. There we met a man, notorious for years in Albany as the leader of "the lobby." He expressed satisfaction at the approval of the bill and said: "The 'boys' wanted to 'strike' that bill but I told

them they must not do it; that it was a bill that ought to pass without the expenditure of a dollar—and it did.”

Undoubtedly the honorable position taken by the friends of the bill and the land owners; the fairness of all the legal proceedings; the entire absence of jobbery and corruption, from first to last, commanded the respect and commendation of the people of the State. Any departure from this high ground would have been fatal to the measure.

There are grounds for believing that a veto message was prepared by the Governor. That he did not exercise the veto power is probably due to the influence of Samuel J. Tilden, as intimated in a letter from Mr. Otis, a neighbor of Mr. Tilden, received after the approval of the bill, in which he says: “I am greatly pleased that Governor Hill was not misled by the clamor of a few interested parties in deciding so important a matter. My impression is, however, that the bill had a very narrow escape, in fact it is the general impression about here that a veto message had been written when Gov. Hill called on Mr. Tilden. Be that as it may the decision finally reached was wise and sagacious, and will reflect credit on both the Governor and Mr. Tilden.” A like view of the close escape of the bill from a veto was also held by Hon. Erastus Brooks, the powerful champion of the movement in 1883, its constant friend, and very properly the chairman of the day at the exercises of dedication, July 15, 1885. He also intimated that President Cleveland intervened in behalf of the measure. In a letter written a short time before his death, he says: “It was ‘the pull altogether’ that put the bill through, and in the end only an intense and intelligent public opinion saved the bill in the Senate, and its clear defeat in the form of an executive veto. I was among those who pleaded with the Governor for his signature and the President’s urgency, I think, made assurance doubly sure in the end.” Be that as it may, at the banquet given by the Rochester Chamber of Commerce at Niagara Falls, June 11, 1897, after the Reservation bill of 1885 had been a law for about 12 years, it was gratifying to hear Governor Hill express his satisfaction with his part in signing

the bill, saying that while he did not claim great credit for some of his official acts, that *that* was one of which he was particularly proud.

NOTE.—The State Park at Niagara Falls was formally delivered to the people of the State of New York on Wednesday, July 15, 1885. The ceremonies of that day drew thither the largest gathering ever there up to that time, estimated in current newspaper reports at 75,000. There was a parade of some 2,000 troops, including United States regulars and various organizations of the National Guard of the State, many towns being represented; and a detachment of marines from the United States man-of-war *Michigan*, with bands of music from Niagara Falls, Buffalo, Utica and Cleveland, the latter accompanying the Ohio militia organization known as the Cleveland Grays. The Mexican National band was also present. A salute of 100 guns was fired at sunrise by the 7th Battery, N. G. S. N. Y. The ceremonies attending the transfer of the lands were held at Prospect Park at 12 o'clock noon, Hon. Erastus Brooks being president of the day. The exercises consisted of a prayer by Rt. Rev. A. Cleveland Coxe; the singing of the National Anthem and of "The Star-Spangled Banner" by a chorus of 400, drawn from the Orpheus and Schubert societies of Niagara Falls, and the Orpheus, Saengerbund and Liedertafel societies of Buffalo; a presentation address by Hon. William Dorsheimer, president of the Commission; response by Gov. David B. Hill; oration by Hon. James C. Carter of New York; the singing of Keller's "American Hymn." Doxology, benediction and a Federal salute. The Buffalo Historical Society was represented on the occasion by the following committee: William H. H. Newman, president; Hon. James Sheldon, vice-president; Dr. Leon F. Harvey, recording secretary; George G. Barnum, corresponding secretary; Sherman S. Jewett, Hon. E. G. Spaulding, Hon. James O. Putnam, Gerhard Lang, Hon. James M. Smith, William Clement Bryant, Rev. A. T. Chester, D. D., Hon. E. S. Hawley, Gen. John C. Graves, William K. Allen, Thomas B. French, George W. Townsend, J. H. Tilden, Emmor Haines, Otto Besser, Charles B. Germain. Among many other distinguished guests were Lt.-Gov. Robinson of the Province of Ontario, Hon. Oliver Mowat, Premier of Ontario, and many other Provincial officials and officers of the Niagara Park Commission for Ontario. Letters were read from President Cleveland, the Governor General of Canada, and Samuel J. Tilden; and a cabled message of congratulation from the Commons Reservation Society of London, Eng. The day ended in a blaze of fireworks glory on both sides of the Niagara.

AN HISTORICAL SKETCH OF
THE BUFFALO LIBRARY,

PRIOR TO THE FREE LIBRARY MOVEMENT.

BY J. N. LARNED,

Superintendent, 1877-1897.

The Buffalo Library was known during the first 50 years of its life as the Library of the Young Men's Association, or, in common speech, as the Young Men's Library, of Buffalo. An earlier "Buffalo Library"—a little village collection of books, about 700 in number—had been formed in 1816, by a small company of stockholders who held together until 1832. A second library and literary society was organized near the close of 1830, under the name of the Buffalo Lyceum, which seemed vigorous for a time in several directions of activity, but which had no long existence. It was not until the winter of 1836 that a movement with some really lasting energy in it was set on foot, and resulted in the organization of the Young Men's Association of the City of Buffalo. The incidents and circumstances of that movement were investigated carefully by the late Charles D. Norton, when he prepared his historical address, delivered on the occasion of the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Association, in 1861, and he wrote: "If it were necessary to state the names of the men who deserve the title of founders of this association, it could only be said that the general and recognized necessity for such an institution induced a variety

of effort, in which all the young men of the place were more or less engaged. The letters furnished to me, by gentlemen of this city, render it not a little difficult to determine whose is the especial honor, but they indicate the general interest taken in it by our citizens." In the *Commercial Advertiser* of Feb. 20, 1836, Mr. Norton found the following notice, signed by nearly 400 citizens, "comprising all classes, trades and professions":

Y. M. ASSOCIATION.—The young men of Buffalo friendly to the foundation of a Young Men's Association for mutual improvement in literature and science, are requested to meet at the Court House on Monday, the 22d day of February, at the hour of 7 P. M.

At the meeting which followed this notice, Hon. Hiram Pratt presided, and Richard L. Allen and Isaac W. Skinner were secretaries. A constitution had been previously prepared at the office of Mr. Seth C. Hawley, copied in a great degree from that of the Young Men's Association at Albany, which was submitted to this meeting by Mr. Frederick P. Stevens. After some sharp discussion the constitution was adopted, and an adjournment was had to the 29th of the same month, that the constitution might be examined and subscribed. On the adjourned day Mr. Roswell W. Haskins presided, Mr. George E. Hayes was secretary, and a committee of seven was appointed to nominate officers; and, with Mr. Henry K. Smith and Mr. Dyre Tillinghast acting as tellers, the persons who had become members elected as president Seth C. Hawley; Dr. Charles Winne, Samuel N. Callender, and George Brown as vice-presidents; Frederick P. Stevens, corresponding secretary; A. G. C. Cochrane, recording secretary, and John R. Lee, treasurer. The managers chosen were Oliver G. Steele, Henry K. Smith, William H. Lacy, Geo. W. Allen, Chas. H. Raymond, Henry R. Williams, George E. Hayes, Halsey R. Wing, Rushmore Poole and Hunting S. Chamberlain.

The Association came into existence at a time when everybody felt rich. It was the year of bubbles in land speculation which preceded the great collapse of 1837. A subscription that ran up to \$6,700 in amount was raised with

astonishing ease to give the new library a solid footing. The books of the old Buffalo Library and of the Lyceum were transferred to it, considerable purchases were made under a contract with the Messrs. Butler, and 2,700 volumes in all were collected before the end of the year. The chief feature of the institution, however, was its newspaper reading-room, where six quarterly, 10 monthly and 44 weekly publications were on file, and which boasted of being the completest in any city west of New York.

The financial crash of 1837 swept many imagined fortunes out of existence, and with them a great part of the small endowment which the library was supposed to have secured in the subscriptions alluded to above. Its membership fell away, it was weighted with some debt which it had contracted too hopefully, and for half a dozen years, or more, it struggled doubtfully and hard between life and death. But there was pluck in the young men of those days, and a Spartan band among them stood fast by the Association through all difficulties until the coming of more prosperous times. Not, however, until 1845, under the presidency of Mr. Gibson T. Williams, was it cleared of debt and fairly launched upon its successful career.

The original rooms of the Association were on the upper floors of the building then owned by Mr. Joseph Dart, numbered 175 Main Street, now numbered 219, being three doors below Seneca Street. Mr. B. W. Jenks, a portrait painter, occupied adjoining rooms and became nominally the first librarian by reason of that circumstance, undertaking to overlook the library while pursuing his own work. In reality, the functions of the first librarian were performed by Mr. J. F. Young of Williamsville, then a lad taking lessons in art from Mr. Jenks, and to whom the latter delegated the care of the neighboring books and newspapers. Subsequently, the post was accepted by Dr. Charles H. Raymond, who had been prominent among the founders of the library and foremost in activity of effort to sustain it. The labor that he assumed, said Mr. Norton, speaking in 1861, and the patience he displayed under great discouragements, and the resolution with which he persisted in his unrewarded toil, assign

to him a place among its chief benefactors. He was a ripe and good scholar, and had all a scholar's modesty. Dr. Raymond served as librarian until some time in 1839, when he was succeeded by Mr. Phineas Sargeant, who remained at the desk until 1850.

In May, 1841, the Association removed to South Division Street, in rooms over the shops now numbered 15 and 16, the library being at one side of the stairway, while a small lecture room was fitted up on the other side. These rooms became inadequate and unsuitable before many years had passed. The first movement which the discontent with them engendered took the form of a building project, and in 1848 the undertaking was very seriously set on foot. It went so far that a building committee, having the matter in charge, bought a lot of ground for the purpose, 48 feet front by 91 feet deep, on the north side of Eagle Street, between Main and Pearl streets, for \$3,000. This was done, however, on their individual responsibility. They procured plans and specifications, contemplating a structure which would cost from \$8,000 to \$12,000. They secured the passage of an act authorizing the Association to borrow \$15,000 on its bonds, and they invited subscriptions from citizens in aid of the project. An elegant blank-book, richly bound in Russia leather, with an inscription upon the side: "Building subscriptions, Young Men's Association, 1848," is still preserved among the archives of the library. But, alas! its inviting white leaves have no stain of ink. Not an autograph is found in it.

The premature building project came to naught; but it had its effect, without doubt, in stimulating a movement to the American Block, which took place in 1852. American Hall was leased, with commodious rooms for the library underneath, and the circumstances as well as the situation of the Association were greatly improved. The hall became a source of considerable income; the annual lecture courses grew more popular and profitable; membership increased and the course of advancing prosperity was generally smoothed.

Meantime, in 1850, failing health had caused the resignation of Mr. Phineas Sargeant from the librarianship and Mr. Lewis Jenkins succeeded to him. But a few months after the removal in 1852 Mr. Jenkins resigned, in his turn, and Mr. William Ives was appointed in his place.*

A period of 12 uneventful years followed, during which the Association and its library gained slowly but steadily in strength and character. As early as 1856 we begin to find complaint again in the annual reports of insufficient room for new books, and the talk of building reappears. The late George Palmer gave encouragement to the scheme that year by a munificent proposition. He offered to present to the Association a lot of land valued at \$12,000, with \$10,000 in money additional, provided that \$90,000 more should be raised from other sources for an adequate building. The condition could not be fulfilled and the offered gift was lost. Next year the business world was strewn with the ruins of a financial earthquake. A little later came the political agitations which preceded the Civil War, and then the war itself. There was little use in that period of talking or thinking about anything better for the library than the quarters which it had outgrown. Some growth went on, despite the tumult and despite the crowding. Just when the guns at Sumter were being trained to fire their war signal, on the evening of the 22d of March, 1861, the Association celebrated its quarter-centennial anniversary with stately ceremony and fine enthusiasm. The exercises, held in St. James Hall, were notably interesting. Mr. David Gray read a very noble poem, the strains of which are still lingering in the memory of those who heard it. Mr. Charles D. Norton delivered the historical address, which has been quoted from above. Other addresses were made by Joseph Warren, then president of the Association; Hon. J. G. Masten, Hon. William Dorsheimer and Mr. Edward Stevens, with interludes of music, both vocal and instrumental.

* Mr. Ives still happily continues as librarian of the expanded institution. The 50th anniversary of his connection with the library was celebrated on April 3, 1902, with gifts to Mr. Ives, adoption of complimentary resolutions, and a public reception. His name has been bestowed upon one of the branch libraries.

These exercises were found so interesting and awakened so much life in the Association that something of like character was planned for the next annual meeting, held Feb. 17, 1862. Again, Mr. Gray contributed a memorable poem, while the late Judge Clinton delivered an admirable address, retrospective of events in the general history of the city.

Meantime, even amid the agitations of war, there occurred a revival of the dormant building project. It came to life in connection with the acceptance by the City of Buffalo of the bequest which founded the Grosvenor Library. Immediate efforts were set on foot to bring about a coöperative building undertaking looking to the permanent planting of the two libraries side by side. The original trustees of the Grosvenor Library, Messrs. O. H. Marshall, George R. Babcock and J. G. Masten, were found to be favorable to the scheme. In the beginning it contemplated the acquisition, by gift from the city, of the old Mohawk Street market ground (now the site of the Young Men's Christian Association building),* to be divided between the Young Men's Association and the Grosvenor Library, each to build upon its own part, but the contiguous buildings to be one in external unity. The undertaking looked hopeful for a time; then came various difficulties. Adjacent lots which were needed could not be reasonably bought, and some opposition to the Mohawk Street location was found to exist. This was in 1862, when the war was at a gloomy crisis and national affairs were in a doubtful state. Yet, the executive committee of that year, with Gen. R. L. Howard at the head were undaunted and persevering. They procured building subscriptions to an amount exceeding \$10,000. They invited proposals for suitable building sites and reported nine offers, which were taken into consideration. One of these, which was for a lot of ground on Main Street, above Huron, and opposite the North Church, gave so much satisfaction that the president, Gen. Howard, bought the property in his own name to secure it. The lot on the northerly side of Eagle Street, fronting 53 feet on Main Street and running to

* To be abandoned within a few months for still more ample quarters, its new building bounded by Genesee, Mohawk and Franklin streets.

Washington Street, was also proposed, Mr. S. V. R. Watson, who owned a half interest in the property, offering to make his interest a gift; but negotiations with owners of the adjacent ground to secure some necessary addition of space were not successful.

So the building project went over to the next year (1863), when Mr. S. V. R. Watson became president of the Association. Again there were many plans and many sites discussed, and several conferences were held by the building committee with the trustees of the Grosvenor Library and delegates from the Fine Arts Academy, the Historical Society and the Society of Natural Sciences. The result was the provisional adoption of a "plan contemplating the union of all the societies and the Grosvenor Library in the erection of a suitable building for their general accommodation, a specific part to be appropriated to each society, and the title of the premises to be vested in the Young Men's Association, except such part thereof as should be occupied by the Grosvenor Library." But subsequently the Fine Arts Academy and Historical Society demanded modifications of the plan which the executive committee of the Y. M. A. "deemed it would be unwise for this Association to adopt" and it was thereafter abandoned.

But, immediately on this, followed a movement which proved brilliantly successful, and which placed the library on sure ground for all time, as we may reasonably believe. President Watson opened negotiations with Messrs. Albert and George Brisbane for the purchase of the premises on Main, Eagle and Washington streets, known as the St. James Hotel and St. James Hall. Before the year closed, an agreement had been signed which secured three months' time for concluding the purchase of these premises at the price of \$112,500. Within the stipulated three months, which expired March 26, 1864, a building fund amounting to \$81,655 was raised by subscription among the members and friends of the Association, in sums which ranged from \$5 to \$3,000, and the purchase of the St. James Hotel and Hall property was duly consummated. A mortgage to the Erie County Savings Bank for \$50,000 provided money for

the completion of payments to the Messrs. Brisbane, and for the alterations required to be made in the premises. Possession of the hotel was secured Sept. 1st, and the necessary changes of interior construction were so speedily made that the library was formally installed in its new home on the 10th day of January, 1865. The occasion was distinguished by addresses from President Watson and from the late Oliver G. Steele, and by another poem from the pen of David Gray. It was the one, well remembered among Buffalonians, in which he paid his tender tribute to the brave McMahon, telling "How the young Colonel died."

In the reconstructed hotel building, the Association occupied the second floor with its library and reading-rooms, well accommodated. On the third, fourth and fifth floors suitable rooms were prepared for the Fine Arts Academy, the Historical Society and the Society of Natural Sciences, under an arrangement that was liberal in its terms. Soon afterwards the Grosvenor Library, then just beginning its collection of books, the Law Library (also in the infant stage), the Young Men's Christian Association, the Young Men's Catholic Association, the Erie County Medical Society and the Firemen's Benevolent Association were all given habitations in the hospitable building at moderate rates of rent. The Grosvenor Library was presently removed to other quarters, and several of the societies named were tenants for a few years only.

Four large stores on the ground floor of the building, and St. James Hall at the rear, on Eagle and Washington streets, were leased on satisfactory terms, and brought in a handsome rental.

The Association was now very happy in its circumstances. Its library was well placed, with convenient arrangements and with space for a considerable growth. Its reading-rooms were commodious and pleasant. It had advanced in public favor and its membership increased. Its property, ably managed by three real-estate commissioners, yielded revenues which extinguished the mortgage debt upon it within 13 years. At the same time the library enjoyed more liberal appropriations for books than had been possible

before. Yet the accumulation of books was soon thought to be proceeding too slowly, and in 1869, under the presidency of Mr. Henry A. Richmond, a special fund for immediate purchases was provided by an issue of bonds. This gave to the library committees of the following two years nearly \$19,000 for expenditure, and the total of books was raised from about 16,000 in 1870, to 25,000 in 1872, while a full and excellent catalogue was prepared and printed, supplying a want that had been urgent for many years.

The five years next following were not eventful in the life of the Association; but in 1877 an important amendment of its constitution was brought into effect. The object of the amendment was to cure the evil influence upon the library of an annual change in its administrative committees. Thereafter, the immediate supervision of the library was entrusted to three "curators," one elected each year, with two other members of the executive committee, appointed annually, forming a library committee; while the 12 directors in the executive committee were elected, four annually, for terms of three years each.

Soon afterwards, a change was made in the working organization of the library by creating the office of superintendent, Mr. J. N. Larned being appointed to the place and entering upon its duties in April, 1877. During that year and the following one, the library, which contained about 30,000 volumes at the beginning of the work, was reclassified and rearranged throughout on what is known as the "movable system," or "system of relative location" for books, and a new card catalogue was made for the whole.

By the final extinction of the mortgage debt of the Association, at the beginning of 1878, a more continuous liberality of appropriations for the purchase of books was introduced from that date. Yet the total book expenditure of the succeeding 10 years barely equalled that of the preceding decade, owing to the large extra fund that had been raised and applied in 1871 and 1872. In the 10 years 1868-1877, 21,498 volumes of books were added to the library, and \$37,200 expended. In the 10 years 1878-1887, 29,224 volumes were added, and the expenditure was \$37,139. This

accelerated growth soon crowded the library shelves and forced extensions and changes of arrangements that were found every year more inconvenient and troublesome. At the same time, with the increasing value of the collection of books, an increasing desire was felt to see it more safely housed. Hence arose often recurring demands for the construction of a fire-proof library building. Attention had long been fixed upon the ground occupied by the old county buildings, vacated in 1876 (Washington, Broadway, Ellicott and Clinton streets), as offering the most desirable site, and several movements to secure the property were made, but with no result. In 1880 there was serious talk of purchasing the old Unitarian Church, at the corner of Franklin and Eagle streets, and converting it into a fire-proof structure for the library. Plans and estimates for the work were procured and considered, but the project did not meet with favor and was dropped. The suggested fire-proof reconstruction of the old church building was afterwards carried out by the Austin estate for business purposes.

In the autumn of 1882 a movement by various parties to bring about the sale of the county property mentioned above showed strong influence in the Board of Supervisors, and it appeared probable that the fine site in question would soon pass to private owners and be turned to some not very dignified commercial use. Hon. Sherman S. Rogers and Hon. James M. Smith, conversing on the subject one morning, resolved suddenly to rescue from that ignoble fate a piece of ground which seemed conspicuously designed for a worthy public edifice. They found seven other gentlemen to join them in forming a syndicate composed as follows: Sherman S. Rogers, James M. Smith, Sherman S. Jewett, Francis H. Root, Charles Berrick, O. P. Ramsdell, Dexter P. Rumsey, Pascal P. Pratt, Geo. Howard. These gentlemen, without delay submitted proposals to the Board of Supervisors for the purchase of the ground in question, under agreement to transfer the same at any time within 12 months to any one or more of several societies and institutions named, which might determine to buy and build upon the site. Their pro-

posal was accepted and the conveyance of the property was duly made to them.

The public spirit of the city was now challenged to make use of the opportunity thus secured. It was felt that the stipulated year must not be suffered to pass without determining an undertaking in some mode to cover the site worthily, and to gather there, if possible, under one stately roof, the representative institutions of art, science and literature. The Young Men's Association was looked to for leadership in the enterprise. At the next election of the Association, in February, 1883, Mr. Edward B. Smith was chosen president, distinctly with a view to enlisting his known energy and resoluteness. Under Mr. Smith's command the campaign was soon opened. The trustees of the Grosvenor Library and the citizens' committee, or syndicate, which held the old court-house property, joined the officers of the Association in sending out to prominent citizens an invitation phrased as follows:

A meeting of gentlemen will be held at 8 o'clock on Wednesday evening, April 18th, at the residence of Mr. Sherman S. Jewett, for the purpose of consultation respecting plans for the improvement of the old court-house lands, with a view to establishing the important art, literary, and scientific institutions of the city in a suitable edifice upon that most central and commanding site.

We are permitted by Mr. Jewett to invite to this conference a few of the prominent citizens most likely to feel interest in the matter, and such invitation is respectfully extended to you. It is hoped you will not fail to be present.

The meeting was largely attended and gave a powerful impetus to the undertaking by its encouraging spirit. Mr. Smith submitted a plan of proceeding, which contemplated the coöperation of the Grosvenor Library with the Young Men's Association in the erection of a building, or of two buildings which might be substantially one in design, to accommodate not only themselves, but likewise the Fine Arts Academy, the Historical Society and the Society of Natural Sciences; the Young Men's Association to raise for the purpose about \$175,000, by bonds and otherwise, the Grosvenor Library to expend its accumulated building fund of \$65,000,

and \$100,000 or \$125,000 additional to be procured by private subscriptions from the friends of the enterprise. The plan was generally approved by the meeting, and resolutions were adopted which recommended the Association to enter upon the proposed undertaking with vigor, and at once. After the adjournment a subscription book was opened and headed with the signatures of Sherman S. Jewett and Sherman S. Rogers, with \$5,000 attached to each.

From this auspicious beginning the subscription was pushed actively, but did not advance with the rapidity that might have been expected. The 1st of December found some \$30,000 still wanting to make up the \$100,000 which the terms of the subscription required to be raised before the end of that month. The prospect was discouraging, and not many men would have confronted it with the determination shown by President Smith. He had no thought of relinquishing the undertaking. Having apparently exhausted the subscriptions in large sums, or nearly so, he turned to the whole membership of the Association, and to the public at large, with a strong appeal for contributions of any and every amount within the means of the contributor. The response to this appeal was surprising. A single week changed the whole aspect of affairs. For sums ranging all the way from \$1 to \$500, subscriptions in amazing numbers were poured in, and the total footing reached and passed \$100,000 some days before the close of the month. The final result was a building-fund subscription which aggregated about \$117,000, nearly all of which proved eventually to be good.

The undertaking was now assured, and attention was promptly turned to the procuring of satisfactory designs and plans for the nascent edifice. The superintendent of the library was deputed to visit several eastern cities, to confer with leading architects and to study the construction and arrangements of the best library buildings. By the concurrent action of the executive committee and the board of real estate, a building committee of five was appointed, to which large powers were delegated, for the supervision and direction of the contemplated work. The committee was constituted as follows: Edward B. Smith, chairman; Jewett

M. Richmond, John G. Milburn, George B. Hayes, J. N. Larned.

The first proceeding of the building committee was to open conferences and correspondence with the trustees of the Grosvenor Library and with the managing boards of the Fine Arts Academy, the Society of Natural Sciences, and the Historical Society. It was soon found that the trustees of the Grosvenor Library entertained views respecting the division of cost and of accommodations between the two libraries, and consequent plans of building, which differed so radically from the views held on the side of the Association that no possible reconciliation of them could be hoped for. All attempts, therefore, to arrange a coöperative enterprise were abandoned, and the Association addressed itself independently to the work. Little difficulty was found in arriving at an understanding with the three other societies expecting to be tenants of the building when completed. It was agreed with the Fine Arts Academy that rooms and sky-lighted galleries to cover not less than a certain designated area on the second floor should be provided "for its uncontrolled use, during whatever period it may choose to occupy the same as an art gallery, free of any rent-charge, but subject only to the conditions that it shall maintain the said portion of the building in proper repair, and that it shall pay its proportion of the cost of warming the building." With the Historical Society and the Society of Natural Sciences the agreement was for a tenancy on similar terms, but limited to 25 years in duration, after which time, or earlier if the premises in question should be vacated, "the Association may reclaim the same." Rooms for the Historical Society were to be not less than 4,500 square feet in area, on the third floor, and those for the Society of Natural Sciences in the basement, 10,000 square feet in area at the least.

Meantime—and long previously, in fact—careful studies were being made to determine the form of building and the arrangement of floor plans that would seem to satisfy the wants of the library and the demands of the associated group of institutions in the most perfect way. The peculiar trape-

zoidal lot of ground to be built upon offered difficulties and advantages, in equal measure, perhaps, and made the problem interesting. As the fruit of these studies, a set of floor-plan sketches was prepared, by way of suggestion to the architects who might undertake to submit designs for the building. The architects of the city were all invited to offer competitive designs, and the same invitation was extended to 13 architects in other cities. The middle of April had been reached before these invitations were sent out. To each architect invited there was sent a copy of the suggested floor plans mentioned above, together with a printed circular which described, in full detail, all the wants to be satisfied and all the conditions to be met in the construction and arrangements of the building. The limit of time named for receiving designs was July 1st. At the appointed date 11 architects were found to have submitted designs to the committee, but anonymously, as was prescribed. The 11 competitors, subsequently identified, were: H. H. Richardson, Brookline, Mass.; Van Brunt & Howe, Boston; C. L. W. Eidlitz, New York; W. H. Wilcox, St. Paul, Minn.; William Watson, Montreal; Warner & Brockett, Rochester, N. Y.; C. K. Porter, Buffalo; Beebe and Freeman, Buffalo; August Esenwein and F. W. Humble, Buffalo; C. R. Percival, Buffalo; H. Macdiarmid, Buffalo.

After careful and long consideration, the building committee, on the 11th of July, adopted as its choice, with unanimity, the design submitted by Mr. C. L. W. Eidlitz of New York. At the same time, the second premium that had been offered was awarded to Mr. Richardson, and the third to Mr. Wilcox. The action of the committee was confirmed by the executive committee of the association, and it was unquestionably approved by the general public verdict.

Arrangements were now promptly concluded with Mr. Eidlitz for the preparation of working plans and specifications, and early in October a contract for the excavation and foundation work of the building was let. Ground was broken on the morning of the 8th of October, in the presence of a few ladies and gentlemen who had warning of the event, and who took the place of the laborers for a time in handling

plough and shovel. The first wagon was loaded by these volunteers and the first spadeful of earth thrown into it by Mrs. S. V. R. Watson.

In January, 1885, the contracts for the principal work were let. At this time the building plans contemplated a strictly fire-proof construction for only the Broadway wing of the building, in which the book-room of the library and the picture gallery of the Fine Arts Academy were to be placed. No more than that could be done within the limit of \$225,000 that had been fixed for the cost of construction. But further consideration led to a revision of these plans, and it was determined that the whole structure should be made fire-proof. Supplementary contracts were accordingly made, under which work began in April.

Mr. Smith had been reëlected president in February, 1884, but declined a third election the following year, pleading the pressure of his private business affairs upon his attention and time. He accepted, however, a seat in the board of real estate. His natural successor in the presidency was Mr. Jewett M. Richmond, who had been one of the building committee and prominently active in the whole movement. Mr. Richmond was reëlected in 1886 and again in 1887, and surrendered his services very largely to the undertaking, giving close personal attention to it throughout.

The vacancy in the building committee caused by the retirement of Mr. Smith (Mr. Richmond then becoming chairman of the committee) was filled by the appointment of Mr. Henry C. French. In the following year, 1886, Mr. French and Mr. Geo. B. Hayes were withdrawn from the building committee by the expiration of their terms in the executive committee, and were succeeded by Messrs. Howard H. Baker and Robert R. Hefford.

Work was pressed vigorously by most of the contractors, but lasted through 1885, 1886, and until March, 1887, before the last details were finished. In May, 1886, by an act of the Legislature of New York, the "Young Men's Association of Buffalo" became, by change of name, "The Buffalo Library," and its "executive committee" was changed in title to a "board of managers."

On Monday, the 13th of September, 1886, the removal of the library to its new home was begun. The new building was not yet in readiness for it, but the old building was no longer hospitable. The latter had been leased to Messrs. Stafford & Co. for reversion to its original uses as a hotel. Extensive changes of interior construction required to be made, and the commencement of work upon these necessarily hastened the departure of the library. As an unfortunate consequence, its books were put out of use for nearly four months. It was not until the third day of January, 1887, that the stately portals on Broadway could be opened to readers.

Even then the opening was informal and incomplete. The ceremonious and official introduction of the public to the new building was postponed until the evening of Monday, Feb. 7th, when the Library united with the Fine Arts Academy, the Historical Society and the Society of Natural Sciences, in a general reception of their members and friends. A prayer by Bishop Coxe, brief addresses by President Richmond of the Library, Vice-President Sherman S. Rogers of the Fine Arts Academy, President D. S. Kellicott of the Society of Natural Sciences, and ex-President James Sheldon of the Historical Society, with a short reminiscent sketch by Mr. John R. Lee, the first treasurer of the Young Men's Association, and the only survivor of its board of officers, were the simple dedicatory exercises that had been prepared. Notwithstanding unfavorable weather, the guests of the evening numbered many thousands, and the splendid building, thronged in every part, presented a memorable scene. A programme of music, performed by the Philharmonic Orchestra, gave appropriate entertainment to the visitors. The library at this time was fully settled and arranged.

NOTE.—On March 18, 1887, the building which the Buffalo Library had vacated the preceding September, and which (still owned by the library) had become the Richmond hotel, was destroyed by fire, 15 persons perishing in the flames or dying from injuries received in trying to escape. It was one of the most horrible calamities in the history of Buffalo, and cast a great shadow over what seemed to be the happy fortunes of the library. The decision was promptly reached to rebuild on the site, as nearly fireproof as possible. The present Iroquois hotel, occupying the site of the burned building and of St. James Hall, adjacent, is the result of that decision.

THE BUFFALO
FREE LIBRARY MOVEMENT
IN THE YEAR 1897.

BY HENRY L. ELMENDORF,
Superintendent since 1897.

The establishment of a free public library may certainly be considered the most notable event in the history of our city during the year 1897.

It was not my privilege to observe the preliminary steps of the movement which resulted in founding the free library, as I received the appointment of superintendent of the Library in June, 1897, after the free library had been established by law and preparations to open it to the public were well under way.

The facts and figures in this brief account of the early stages of the free library movement, I have gathered from the 61st annual report of the Buffalo Library and from a record of the organization of the Buffalo Public Library, prepared at the request of the directors by the late James Fraser Gluck.

The position of Buffalo in library matters was entirely unique. She was alone among the great cities of the Northern States in having no free tax-supported public library, but also alone in having a private library so managed as to

be of greatest value to the citizens. The Buffalo Library gave the free use of its books within its building to all comers; its annual membership fees were only \$3, entitling the member to draw two books at a time for home use; it issued 1,000 free tickets to school children; it had recently opened a children's room and in general performed the functions of a public library to the utmost limit of the means at its command. Very nearly half the entire membership of the old library was made up of life members, who had contributed large sums of money to its endowment and support, and who had an affection for the institution and an interest in its prosperity that were truly remarkable.

The library derived its income chiefly from the rents of the Iroquois Hotel property. The hotel was built in the spirit of public enterprise rather than as a profitable investment. It yielded a net annual income of only about \$22,000 after paying the interest on the enormous indebtedness incurred for its construction. This property had, under the law, been exempt from taxation, and upon the income derived from it the library relied for its maintenance. During the session of 1895-1896, the Legislature passed a law making all property of public institutions from which they derived a revenue taxable. The working of this law added an item of about \$17,000 to the expenses of the library, reducing the net income from its invested funds to about \$5,000. This grave emergency came frequently under discussion during the summer and autumn following but no definite action was taken until Dec. 12, 1896, when the board of managers submitted to the public through the newspapers a statement setting forth in plain terms the critical circumstances of the library and inviting the coöperation of the city to make it entirely free to the public with provision for adequate support by taxation.

The suggestion made in this statement received the hearty support of press and people. The Merchants' Exchange, the Council of United Trades and Labor Unions, the Engineers' Society, the Good Government Clubs, and various other public associations passed resolutions commending it.

The law committee of the Library, Nathaniel W. Norton, Ganson Depew and Joseph N. Hunsicker, invited the coöperation of the trustees of the Grosvenor Library, Josiah Jewett, James Fraser Gluck and Edward H. Butler, and the interests of the free circulating and free reference libraries were made one.

On the 6th of January, 1897, a conference of some of the friends of the libraries who had been most active in their service in the past years, was called to consider the course of action to be pursued. Mr. George Gorham presided at this conference, Mr. J. N. Larned acted as secretary, and among those who took part were James O. Putnam, Daniel H. McMillan, Robert B. Adam, Henry A. Richmond, Ralph Plumb, Frank M. Hollister, James Mooney, Howard H. Baker, Peter P. Burtis, Henry R. Howland, Henry P. Emerson, Worthington C. Miner, Harvey W. Putnam, Andrew Langdon, Thomas T. Ramsdell and E. Corning Townsend.

The relation of the libraries to the educational interests of the city were considered, and after a full discussion a committee representing the two libraries was appointed to prepare and present to the Common Council a petition asking for coöperation in procuring legislation to authorize proper measures for the adequate maintenance of the Buffalo Public Library and the Grosvenor Reference Library.

Nathaniel W. Norton, Daniel H. McMillan, James Mooney, James Fraser Gluck, F. C. M. Lautz, E. H. Butler, John G. Milburn, Robert B. Adam and G. Frederick Zeller were named by the chair as the committee. This committee presented a petition to the Common Council, to which that body responded favorably by appointing committees of three from each house to act with the above-named committee from the libraries, and with the Mayor, the Superintendent of Education and the City Clerk. In these committees the Common Council was represented by Aldermen Maischoss, Boechel and Summers and Councilmen Ash, Byrne and Zipp. The first meeting of the joint committee was held Jan. 14, 1897. The discussion showed entire harmony between the representatives of the city government and the representa-

tives of the libraries. A sub-committee was appointed to draft an act to embody the required legislation, together with an explanatory statement of facts and with estimates of required expenditure for proper maintenance of the Buffalo and Grosvenor libraries on the footing of freedom and educational efficiency.

On Jan. 16th Mr. Norton from the sub-committee submitted to the joint committee the draft of an act to be presented to the Common Council for its approval and for recommendation to the State Legislature. The draft of the proposed act was approved by the joint committee and was presented to the Board of Aldermen, Jan. 18th, accompanied by a detailed report, stating:

First. The existing circumstances of the Buffalo Library.

Second. The need of a free public library as a part of the system of common public education.

Third. The nature and extent of the freedom with which a free library can loan books to the residents of the city.

Fourth. The methods employed in free library systems for placing books easily at the command of people throughout the city.

Fifth. The probable cost for yearly maintenance of the free library for Buffalo.

The report of the committee was adopted by the Board of Aldermen Jan. 18th, and by the Board of Councilmen, Jan. 20th, and was approved by the Mayor on the same day.

The recommended bill was introduced in both houses of the Legislature without delay. It passed the Assembly Feb. 3d; the Senate Feb. 4th; received approval of the Mayor Feb. 10th, and was signed by the Governor of the State Feb. 13th.

By this act the Buffalo Library is authorized to transfer to the city of Buffalo, in trust for the use and benefit of its citizens, books and pamphlets belonging to the library, under conditions to be agreed upon by contract. The city of Buffalo is authorized to accept the books and pamphlets in trust under contract. The life members of the Buffalo Library are constituted a corporation with the power of perpetual

succession, to have sole control of the real estate and property of the Buffalo Library. The life members are instructed to annually elect a president, vice-president, secretary, treasurer and three managers, who shall constitute the trustees of the Buffalo Library. The Common Council is authorized to make all necessary appropriations for the maintenance of the Grosvenor Library. The Common Council is authorized to raise annually, as part of the general tax, a sum of not less than three one hundredths of one per centum and not more than five one hundredths of one per centum of the total taxable assessed valuation of the property of the city of Buffalo, one fifth of the said amount to be paid to the trustees of the Grosvenor Library and four fifths to the trustees of the Public Library.

The contract between the Buffalo Library and the city of Buffalo, was drawn in accordance with the terms of the enabling act by a committee representing the Board of Aldermen, the Board of Councilmen and the Buffalo Library. The contract is dated Feb. 24, 1897, was approved by the Board of Aldermen, the Board of Councilmen and executed by the Mayor and the president and secretary of the Buffalo Library. The principal points of the contract are:

First. The Buffalo Library conveys to the city of Buffalo its books and pamphlets in trust for a period of 99 years, together with the net annual income from the library's property.

Second. The city of Buffalo accepts the trust and agrees to maintain the free public library, and annually to appropriate for its maintenance a sum of not less than four fifths of three one hundredths of one per centum of the total taxable assessed valuation of the property of the city of Buffalo.

Third. The name shall be The Buffalo Public Library.

Fourth. The control and management of the Buffalo Public Library and all moneys appropriated for it by the city shall be vested in a board of 10 directors, to consist of the president, vice-president and three managers of the Buffalo Library; the Mayor, the Corporation Counsel, the Superintendent of Education; two citizens, not life members of the Buffalo Library, to be appointed by the Mayor for a term of five years each.

Fifth. The board of directors shall have full control of the library and its funds, but shall contract no indebtedness in excess of the annual income.

Sixth. The library shall be free to the residents of the city subject to the rules adopted by the directors and shall be open not less than 10 hours on Sundays and holidays, and not less than 12 hours on all other days.

Seventh. The net income of the Buffalo Library shall be paid to the Buffalo Public Library quarterly.

Eighth. The appropriations of the city shall be paid to the Public Library quarterly.

Ninth. The board of directors shall make an annual report to the Common Council on or before the first Monday in February in each year, for the year ending Dec. 31st previous thereto.

Tenth. The officers shall consist of a president, vice-president and executive committee of three members. Seven directors shall be necessary for a quorum.

Eleventh. At the expiration of the term the agreement may be renewed at the option of the city, or a new agreement entered into.

Twelfth. Certified copies of the agreement to be filed in the Erie County Clerk's office, City Clerk's office, and with the records of the Buffalo Library.

The contract was approved by life members of the Buffalo Library Feb. 25, 1897. On the 9th of March, 1897, an election of president, vice-president and three managers, resulted in the unanimous choice of Nathaniel W. Norton as president, George L. Williams as vice-president and Joseph P. Dudley, James Fraser Gluck and Charles R. Wilson as managers.

March 15th the number of the first board of directors was completed by the appointment of two citizens of Buffalo, not life members of the Buffalo Library, viz.: John D. Bogardus for the term of five years and Mathias Rohr for the term of three years.

The change from a proprietary to a free public library involved an entire change in administrative system. Mr. Walter L. Brown, the present assistant superintendent, was sent on a tour of inspection to see the best and most advanced library methods in actual operation. Mr. Brown

made a full and clear report to the directors, and the system afterward adopted was the simplest possible. Experience in its use has proved it accurate, rapid, and well adapted to keeping track of the books and furnishing a proper record of the use of the library.

Equally important with the change of administrative system was the change necessary to prepare the building for the increased patronage of a free library. Built more than 10 years ago, for the use of a limited constituency of paying members, it needed many alterations to adapt it to the free use of all the inhabitants of a great city. These were satisfactorily made.

In April, 1897, Mr. J. N. Larned, for many years superintendent of the Buffalo Library, resigned, and in June the board appointed the present superintendent, who assumed the duties of the office June 15, 1897. The register of borrowers was opened immediately after the signing of the contract with the city. During the summer the names came in slowly, and it was not until just before the opening of the library that the rush of applicants for tickets commenced. While the change of system was being made and repairs going on, the library was kept open for the benefit of the members of the Buffalo Library, who had paid for the privilege of drawing books. It was not until July 28th that the alterations in the delivery room compelled the lending department to close. After being closed for a month, the library was opened as a free public library, Sept. 2, 1897. On the afternoon and evening of Aug. 31st, a reception was given to the life members of the Buffalo Library. A public meeting was held on the evening of Sept. 1st, when the library was formally turned over to the city by Mr. Nathaniel W. Norton, president of the Buffalo Library, Edgar B. Jewett, Mayor of Buffalo, representing the city, and the board of directors of the Buffalo Public Library, accepting the trust. An address was made by Dr. John Shaw Billings, librarian of the New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden foundations, and the various departments of the library were described in a short speech by the superintendent.

NOTE.—The growth and the popularity of the Buffalo Public Library, as shown by the latest statistics, fully justify the hope of those interested in its organization.

The number of bound volumes in the library on July 1, 1902, was 182,600. During the year from July 1, 1901, to July 1, 1902, 1,024,049 books were circulated. Between September, 1901, and June, 1902—the school year—207,205 volumes were loaned from the grade libraries in the public schools.

At present the agencies for the distribution of books outside of the main library are the William Ives Branch at No. 746 Broadway, from which many Polish and German books are sent; depositories at Westminster House, No. 424 Adams Street, and Welcome Hall, No. 404 Seneca Street, which are open one or two days each week; eight delivery stations, where calls are made for orders and books delivered each day; 532 separate class room libraries in 33 public schools; the High schools, where library attendants are present each school day, and the traveling libraries which are placed in the fire houses, police stations, staff room of the hospitals, factories, rooms of clubs and societies, schools not regularly supplied by the library, and home library clubs.

ANDREW LANGDON.
PRESIDENT, BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

THE NEW HOME OF
THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY
IN DELAWARE PARK.

I. NOTES ON THE EARLIER YEARS.

COMPILED BY THE SECRETARY.

At the annual meeting of the Buffalo Historical Society, held January 10, 1899, the secretary related the following incident:

Some years ago I was making a Sunday drive around Grand Island with the Hon. Lewis F. Allen, when he said to me: "Did you ever hear how the Historical Society was started?"

Mr. Allen and I used to make very pleasant excursions together. Though more than half a century lay between us, in age, we had a common interest in the history of the Niagara frontier—that history which he knew so well; so large a part of which he was.

"Tell me of it," I said.

"I was coming up Court Street one day," he continued, "when I met Orsamus H. Marshall. I knew him well—knew that he was one of the few men in Buffalo who gave any thought to the preservation of the records or relics of our history. Marshall, you know, was a scholar. Put him on to anything relating to our Indians, and off he'd go as long as he could follow the trail. He spoke of something that he wanted to get, or that had been destroyed, I don't remember now just what.

"'Marshall,' I said, 'we ought to do something about these things. Somebody should take care of them.'"

"It was a raw, windy day early in the Spring, along in March, 1862. He said, 'Come up in my office and we'll talk it over.'

"The result of that talk was that we got a few others interested and published a call for another meeting, to be held at Mr. Marshall's office. 'The rest of it,' said Mr. Allen, 'is matter of record. We named a committee to draw up a constitution and by-laws, which were submitted to a meeting of citizens held in the rooms of the old Medical Association on South Division Street. Millard Fillmore was made chairman of that meeting, and a little later, at our first election, he was chosen the first president of the Society.'

The society's records show that the first meeting at which Mr. Fillmore presided was held on April 15, 1862. Mr. Allen was chairman of the earlier meeting, held at Mr. Marshall's office, and was the first vice-president of the society.

The foregoing incident may perhaps stand as a preface to the entirely adequate sketch of the origin and progress during its earlier years of the Buffalo Historical Society, written in 1873 by Oliver G. Steele, and published in the first volume of the society's *Publications*. That sketch tells of the awakening of interest on the part of many of the older citizens, in matters pertaining to the history of Buffalo and Western New York; and of the organization of the society, the first election of officers being held on the first Tuesday in May, Hon. Millard Fillmore being chosen president and Hon. Lewis F. Allen chosen vice-president. Oddly enough—when we note his zeal in the formation of the society—Mr. Allen was never its president, though he continued devoted to its welfare throughout his long life.* Mr. Steele has related how, at the suggestion of Mr. Fillmore, 50 gentlemen bound themselves to pay \$20 each per year for five years, as a maintenance fund for the society. This plan was later modified by the creation of a life-membership class, the payment therefor being \$50, increased in 1897 to \$100.

For some time after its organization in 1862, the society had no home. Its record books and first collections—the nucleus of its present museum—were deposited in the office of Hon. William Dorsheimer, No. 7 Court Street, and there too, its early meetings were held. From 1865 until January,

* Lewis F. Allen died May 2, 1890, in his 91st year.

1873, the society occupied rooms, rent free, in the Young Men's Association building, southeast corner of Main and Eagle streets. That building was far from fire-proof; but the new building of the Western Savings Bank, northwest corner of Main and Court streets, constructed in 1871-'2, did appear to offer the security which the society sought for its possessions. The annual income of the society at that time was between \$500 and \$600, not enough to pay the salary of the secretary, and it is not strange that there was hesitancy about moving to quarters for which a considerable rent must be paid. The matter was placed in the hands of Orlando Allen, Orsamus H. Marshall and Gibson T. Williams; and this committee reported, Dec. 10, 1872, that the Young Men's Association, in consideration of the surrender of the Historical Society lease, would pay to it \$1600 in four years, in quarterly instalments. The Historical Society accepted the terms, named Orlando Allen, James Sheldon and Alonzo Richmond, a committee to circulate subscription papers, hoping that a sufficient fund might be guaranteed to warrant leasing the rooms in the Western Savings Bank building; and in January, 1873, feeling warranted in assuming the expense, moved to its new quarters.

Here the society's home continued to be until January, 1887, when it took possession of the more ample rooms—though again on the third floor, reached only for many years by wearying stairs—in the new building of the Young Men's Association, now Buffalo Library building; from which it migrated in April, 1902, to take possession for the first time in its history, and just 40 years after its organization, of "a home of its own."

For many interesting particulars regarding the early years of the society—its accumulation of books and relics, almost wholly by gift; its delightful club meetings, for which many a valuable chronicle of the earlier days was prepared; its slow accumulation of a permanent fund; and the changes which as the years passed brought in turn many a representative citizen to the head of the society; for these and related data the reader may properly be referred to the volume already cited. The object of the present notes is to

deal more particularly with the later history of the society, and especially to tell the story of its new building.

A word of appreciation may, however, fittingly be written of the men who, through many years of cramped resources and the indifference of a large part of the community, kept the society not only alive but progressive. The decade following the Civil War was not a propitious period for such an institution. There were times—not altogether remote, even now—when very few men kept up the organization and carried on a work in which they would gladly have had the coöperation of very many of their fellow-citizens. In this category of the faithful were Hon. James Sheldon, William Clement Bryant, Capt. E. P. Dorr, Hon. William P. Letchworth, William H. H. Newman, Hon. Elias S. Hawley, Hon. James M. Smith, William Hodge, William Dana Fobes, Emmor Haines, James Tillinghast, William K. Allen, George S. Hazard, Dr. Joseph C. Greene, Julius H. Dawes, and others, their associates in the management of the society's affairs for the last quarter of the nineteenth century. After the death of Millard Fillmore and others who had shared in the founding of the society, its interests suffered a decline for a period. A more vigorous era was begun under the presidency of William D. Fobes in 1884, who, in the words of the annual report made in January, 1885, retired from office "leaving the society 20 per cent. better than he found it, such have been the accessions made in the interval to the valuable archives of the society." It was during Mr. Fobes's presidency that the Fillmore family library, through the settlement of the contest of the will of Mrs. Caroline C. Fillmore, passed into the possession of the society. The arrangement which was made in April, 1884, with the Young Men's Association for free occupancy of the third floor of its projected building, was a great financial help. Prior to its removal to what is now the Library building, the society had been paying, since 1873, \$400 a year rent for its quarters in the Western Savings Bank building.

The board meeting of Jan. 4, 1887, was the first which the society held in the new Young Men's Association (now

BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY BUILDING: MUSEUM, FROM CENTRAL GALLERY.

Public Library) building, which was to be its home for 15 years. It was at this meeting that Judge Sheldon, then completing his last term as president, proposed the name of Andrew Langdon for life membership. Mr. Langdon was duly elected, and at the annual meeting held on Jan. 11th, was chosen one of the board of councillors (now called board of managers). In 1894 Mr. Langdon was elected president, and he has been reëlected to that office—more than once in opposition to his expressed wish—every year since. Mr. Langdon's presidency marks a distinct era in the fortunes of the society. From the first he took an active interest in its affairs, and worked with untiring zeal to promote its prosperity. Its need of a building of its own was early apparent to him, as indeed it long had been to others; but none other was so constant in the effort to find a way—or if none could be found, to *make* a way—towards the desired consummation. These notes are not the place to detail the many plans, the many consultations and conferences and projects which came to naught. If they were dropped it was only because something more promising was hit upon; but it is fitting to put on record a word of appreciation for Mr. Langdon's persistent and undiscouraged efforts to put the society on a securer financial basis than it had ever known, and thereby to open the way for its legitimate work on broader and more effective lines. In his efforts he was ably helped by others, who shall be duly named.

The building idea was an old one, and had had many forms even before Mr. Langdon's day. In his address on retiring from the presidency in 1883, William Hodge offered as "a suggestion": "Would it not be pleasing to many to perpetuate the memory of relatives and friends . . . by giving some amount towards our building fund, or better still to purchase or erect a suitable building for the Buffalo Historical Society. Such noble deeds," he added, "have often been done." He had long thought, he said, that the old Waldon homestead, at Main, Edward and Franklin streets, was a suitable house for the Historical and other societies of the city. "The location may be considered by some to be too far up town, but to me it certainly seems not." How great

would have been his wonder could he have been told that the society's first building of its own—and a marble palace at that—would be beyond the far Scajaquada!

This suggestion bore no fruit; nor was there any tangible building fund until on March 4, 1894, Judge James M. Smith (who had been the society's president in 1881 and never lost his interest in its welfare) gave to it five bonds of the Crosstown Street Railroad, Nos. 19-23, valued at \$5,000, "as a nucleus for a building fund." This was a profit-earning property. To it was added \$3,000 received by bequest from Mrs. C. L. Fobes, on Oct. 6, 1898. These sums, with accrued interest, amounted to \$11,064.39 on May 1, 1899, when the account was closed. Prior to this time the society had begun to direct its efforts in a new channel.

II. A RECORD OF LEGISLATION.

At the session of the Legislature of 1897, Hon. Henry W. Hill, Member of Assembly from the Second District of Erie County, and one of the councillors of the Historical Society; introduced in the Assembly two bills providing for the construction of an Historical Society building on Park lands in the city of Buffalo, both of which were enacted into law.

The first of these is Chapter 239 of the Laws of 1897, and authorizes the investment of the Historical Society trust funds in the purchase of the site and the erection of the building for the uses of the Buffalo Historical Society.

The second of these acts is Chapter 310 of the Laws of 1897, which authorized the construction of an Historical Society building on Park lands in the city of Buffalo, and which also provided that the city of Buffalo might appropriate \$25,000, towards the construction of such a building, and should annually thereafter make an appropriation for its lighting and heating, and also a sum of not less than \$5,000 for its care and maintenance and for the care, maintenance and preservation of the historical and scientific collections, books, papers and properties of the society in said building;

the act further provided that the mayor, the comptroller, the corporation counsel, superintendent of education, the president of the Common Council, and the president of the Board of Park Commissioners should be *ex officio* managers of said Historical Society in addition to the managers elected from the membership of the society.

By Chapter 728 of the Laws of 1897, which was superceded and repealed by Chapter 65 of the Laws of 1898 (owing to a clerical error in Chapter 728 of the Laws of 1897), the city of Buffalo was authorized to issue its bonds, among other things to raise funds to the extent of \$25,000, to be used in the erection of an Historical Society building.

Anticipating construction under this law, the society took steps for legislation to permit the use of moneys of its permanent fund, which at this time amounted to \$36,173, as a building fund; and a committee, consisting of J. N. Adam, George H. Lewis, Hon. James M. Smith, Dr. Jos. C. Greene and President Langdon, was appointed to confer with a committee of the Board of Aldermen, or of the Board of Park Commissioners, or of both bodies, regarding further legislation. Inspection of park sites followed. The Board of Managers of the society were unanimous in expressing their preference for the site then known as the Concourse, now occupied by the Albright Art Gallery. The Board of Park Commissioners were divided, six approving, six dissenting. Mr. Bronson C. Rumsey, not favoring that choice, offered to give to the society a site for its building on land owned by him, adjoining the south line of the Park, on the east side of Elmwood Avenue. This offer the Board voted not to accept, the decision being reached at one of the Board's "open-air meetings" at Delaware Park, May 8, 1897. The Board informed Mr. Rumsey that it did approve of a site on his lands fronting on Lincoln Parkway; but this site the owner did not offer to the society.

Much public interest had been aroused by the legislation above indicated, and by the efforts to agree upon a site. There were those who held that the society was ungrateful to refuse the free site which had been offered it on Elmwood Avenue. Others contended against any removal to park

lands;* but the active workers in the society's behalf continued practically unanimous in their view and steadfast in their purpose. The sentiment of the society at this time is embodied in the following paragraph which was written by Judge Smith, appended to a resolution offered by Mr. George A. Stringer, declaring the Concourse to be the society's choice, and adopted, May 27, 1897:

The law enacted by the Legislature commits the selection of the particular site for the building of the Historical Society to two bodies of our citizens, the Board of Park Commissioners being one body and the trustees (managers) of the Historical Society the other. These two bodies are to select the site by agreement and to perpetuate their agreement by writing. The trustees of the Historical Society are 20 and are unanimously in favor of the site at the Concourse. Of the Park Board only six have manifested any opposition to the site at the Concourse. The Historical Society respectfully submits that the views of 26 of our citizens, charged by the law with their public duty, should prevail over the opinion of six others, and that equity, justice and duty require that the minority yield to the very strong majority.

The society had had preliminary building plans prepared, and had entertained hopes of going on with the work under the acts of 1897, but the division in the Park Board arrested progress. The way to a consummation of its project continued dubious and uncertain until, in the spring of 1898, a new opportunity most happily was found. On March 14, 1898, Hon. Henry W. Hill, then Member of Assembly, introduced the following concurrent resolution, which was unanimously adopted:

Whereas, Certain prominent substantial and reputable citizens of the cities of New York, Buffalo and Niagara Falls have under the title of the Pan-American Exposition Company, become duly incorporated under the laws of the State and formed an organization for the purpose of promoting and conducting an exposition to illustrate the material progress of the New World during the nineteenth cen-

* In September of this year ('97) a formal protest against the removal of the society's collections to a building in the Park was sent to the society, signed by sundry citizens.

LECTURE ROOM, HISTORICAL SOCIETY BUILDING

ture, to be held at some suitable location on the Niagara Frontier; and

Whereas. Such exposition is to be held within the borders of the State of New York during the summer of 1899; and

Whereas, No exposition on a large scale of a similar character as that proposed has ever yet been held in this State; be it

Resolved, That the Legislature (the Senate concurring) hereby respectfully urges the President and Congress of the United States to recognize in an appropriate official manner the said Pan-American Exposition and to extend to it such substantial aid as may be deemed fitting and proper; and further

Resolved, That this Legislature (the Senate concurring) respectfully requests the Senators and Members of the House of Representatives from the State of New York to aid in the immediate passage by Congress of favorable legislation in behalf of such Pan-American Exposition.

This resolution, on motion of Senator George A. Davis, was concurred in by the Senate on March 15, 1898, and transmitted to the Congress of the United States. On March 28, 1898, Mr. Hill introduced in the Assembly the following resolution, which was also adopted, viz.:

Whereas, At the present session of the Legislature a resolution was adopted urging the President and Congress of the United States to recognize in an appropriate official manner the Pan-American Exposition, which was to have been held on the Niagara Frontier in the year 1899, and to extend to it such substantial aid as might be deemed fitting and proper; and also requesting the United States Senators and Members of the House of Representatives from the State of New York to aid in the passage by Congress of favorable legislation in behalf of such Pan-American Exposition; and

Whereas, The present unsettled condition of national affairs, on account of the possibilities of war with Spain, renders it expedient to postpone the date of holding such Exposition until the year 1901; therefore, be it

Resolved (if the Senate concur), That the President and Congress of the United States take the same action in regard to such Pan-American Exposition to be held in the year 1901 as heretofore urged for the year 1899; and be it further

Resolved (if the Senate concur), That the Senators and Members of the House of Representatives from the State of New York, be and are hereby requested to extend the same aid in securing fa-

favorable legislation in behalf of such Pan-American Exposition to be held in the year 1901 as was heretofore requested for the year 1899.

This resolution was concurred in by the Senate on March 30, 1898, and returned to the Assembly and also transmitted to Congress, and favorably acted upon by that body, which gave to the Pan-American Exposition congressional approval a considerable time before the citizens of Detroit applied to Congress for an appropriation for a projected exposition in that city, and thereby settled the matter of Federal appropriation in favor of the Pan-American Exposition on the Niagara Frontier.

The original act, Chapter 36 of the Laws of 1899, making an appropriation on the part of New York for an exhibit at the Pan-American Exposition, provided the sum of \$50,000 for a building, which would have been a temporary structure, to be demolished at the close of the exposition. At the close of the legislative session of 1899, Mr. Hill, at a Board meeting of the Managers of the Buffalo Historical Society, stated the substance of the various legislative acts, theretofore enacted, looking toward the erection of an Historical Society building on park lands, and presented a plan for the aggregation of the funds of the city of Buffalo and those of the Buffalo Historical Society, and the moneys to be expended by the State in the erection of a Pan-American building whereby a permanent fire-proof building might be erected on park lands, contiguous to other Pan-American buildings, which would be suitable for the use of the State of New York at the Pan-American Exposition, and which might thereafter become the permanent home of the Buffalo Historical Society.

Mr. Hill offered a resolution to that effect and providing for the appointment of a committee from the Board of Managers of the Buffalo Historical Society to confer with the Directors of the Pan-American Exposition Company, and with the Managers of the State exhibit at the Pan-American Exposition, with the view of securing their approval of such plan and their coöperation in its execution.

This resolution was unanimously adopted by the Board of Managers of the Buffalo Historical Society on the 1st day

of June, 1899, and the president appointed as such committee on the part of the Buffalo Historical Society, Henry W. Hill, chairman; Charles W. Goodyear; Hon. Wilson S. Bissell, G. Barrett Rich and Frank H. Severance, of which committee President Langdon was a member *ex-officio*.

The committee at once presented the plan to the Directors of the Pan-American Exposition Company and to members of the Board of General Managers of the Exposition of the State of New York at the Pan-American Exposition, appointed by Governor Roosevelt and confirmed by the Senate on the 21st day of April, 1899. The board consisted of Hon. Daniel N. Lockwood, chairman, and Messrs. Jacob Amos, Gaines C. Bolin, Nicholas V. V. Franchot, William H. Gelshenen, Fred Greiner, John T. Mott, Leopold Stern and George E. Yost. The committee on the part of the Buffalo Historical Society pointed out that portion of the Delaware Park on the north side of the North Bay of the Park Lake near Elmwood Avenue as a suitable location for an Historical Society building, which would also be accessible and a convenient site for the New York State building at the Pan-American Exposition, as it was immediately south of the proposed location of other buildings to be erected on the Pan-American grounds. Such location, however, would necessitate some modification in the plans of the Pan-American Exposition Company for the location of some of the exposition buildings, and it became necessary to submit the matter to the Board of Architects, who were in charge of the location and plans of the Pan-American buildings. After due consideration, they approved of the location of the New York State building as proposed by the committee of the Historical Society.

The plan was fully presented to the managers of the State exhibit at a meeting held in Buffalo in December, 1899. They visited the grounds and inspected the site, and gave their approval of the proposed location as well as of the plan for the erection of the New York State building to be used at the Pan-American Exposition. Thereupon Mr. Hill prepared a bill to enable the New York State board to expend \$100,000 toward the erection of a building out of the

\$300,000 appropriated by the State for its use at the exposition, and also providing for uniting therewith and adding thereto the \$25,000 to be expended by the city of Buffalo and the money to be expended by the Buffalo Historical Society toward the erection of an Historical Society building on park lands; and also providing that such building should be a fire-proof and permanent structure, and at the close of the exposition should become the property of the Buffalo Historical Society for its use and the preservation of its historical properties.

This bill was approved by the managers of the State exhibit and introduced on Jan. 15, 1900, by Mr. Hill in the Assembly. It passed that body on Jan. 30th, but was amended in the Senate, and thereafter passed the Senate, which amendments were concurred in by the Assembly. It was then sent to Buffalo, and after due notice was approved by Hon. Conrad Diehl, Mayor, and returned to Albany and approved by Governor Roosevelt on March 26, 1900, and became Chapter 230 of the Laws of 1900, which amended Chapter 36 of the Laws of 1899, the original Appropriation Act of the State of New York of \$300,000 for its use at the Pan-American Exposition. It was under this law that the New York State building was erected. There were several conferences between the managers of the exhibit on the part of the State of New York, and the building committee on the part of the Buffalo Historical Society, on the question of plans and specifications, material to be used in construction, etc.; and conferences with the Board of Park Commissioners as to the location. Fortunately there prevailed a disposition on the part of the conferees to carry out the purposes of the law and to secure a building which would be eminently serviceable during the Pan-American Exposition, and well adapted for general historical purposes thereafter.*

* The story of the building from the time of its erection until it was formally turned over to the Historical Society belongs properly to the history of the Pan-American Exposition, and will no doubt be included in the narrative of that undertaking, now in preparation by the Director General, the Hon. William I. Buchanan. The report of the board of managers for New York State at the exposition, when published will probably contain suitable mention of the uses to which it was put as the New York State building. As matter of record,

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BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY BUILDING: THE DR JOS C. GREENE COLLECTION OF EGYPTIAN ANTIQUITIES

III. THE BUILDING DESCRIBED.

BY GEORGE CARY,

Its Architect.

At one of the meetings of the Board of Architects in Boston, Mr. Heins, the State Architect, conversed with me on the State building, for which he was preparing plans. "If only we could get the State to make its building a permanent one, that could be used afterwards for the Buffalo Historical Society!" was my expression. This same idea occurred to others, and Mr. Hill, our representative at Albany, is the

however, it is well to note here the more important events which occurred within the walls of what is now the home of the Buffalo Historical Society, during the period of the Pan-American Exposition.

The first announced gathering held at the completed building appears to have been a convention of coal dealers, on June 12, 1901. On July 5th the edifice was informally opened to the public, without ceremony. During the remainder of the exposition period, it was daily visited by thousands. It contained a collection of paintings, some miscellaneous objects of historical or curious interest, and the "special art grand" piano exhibited by the Messrs. Steinway & Sons of New York. This instrument, at the close of the exposition, was given by the makers to the Historical Society, and now stands in the central hall, one of the society's most notable possessions. It is of the highest quality of excellence as a musical instrument, and in its construction is exceptionally artistic. The case is of mahogany, carved in classic style, with bronze mountings, and bronze electric light fixtures. On the top cover, inlaid and hand-painted, are the arms of the State of New York. The money value of the instrument is stated as \$2,500. Under the touch of skillful players it contributed greatly to the enjoyment of many of the gatherings in the building during the exposition.

On July 5th the New York State Teachers Association was received at the building by the Hon. Charles R. Skinner, State Superintendent of Public Instruction. On July 23d members of the Catholic Mutual Benefit Association attended a reception there; a banquet was given in honor of Governor Odell, by the New York State Commissioners, July 25th; and on Aug. 2d the Pan-American Press Club used the building for a reception. The building was formally dedicated to the use of New York State and the Pan-American Exposition, on Aug. 6th. Succeeding gatherings included the following: Aug. 10th, International Association of Milliners; Aug. 14th, a meeting of fire underwriters; Aug. 19th, the National Shorthand Reporters Association; Aug. 20th, the American Institute of Electrical Engineers, one session of their 18th annual convention; Aug. 22d, the New York State Stenographers Association, 25th annual convention. On Aug. 22d the building was headquarters for visitors from Syracuse, with luncheon served to prominent guests by the Hon. Jacob Amos. On Aug. 24th, visitors from the Mohawk Valley held exercises in the building, and on Aug. 31st it was headquarters for "Shriners."

man to whom we are chiefly indebted for the passage of the act, which allowed the State building to be given over, after the exposition, to the Buffalo Historical Society.

Owing to the feeling of Mr. Heins, the State architect, that this building should not come under the head of State work, the committee opened the planning of the building to competition. Because of the short time given for presenting plans, there were but seven competitors. As the Park Board selected one, and the president of the Historical Society another, the State committee decided to choose as expert, R. W. Gibson, president of the Architectural League of New York, and he chose a third, whose plan was carried out in the building as it stands today.

September 5th was President's Day at the exposition. In this building President McKinley and invited guests attended a luncheon given by the New York State commissioners. The next day, in the Temple of Music, the President received the shot from which he died, Sept. 14th.

There were three gatherings in the building on Sept. 6th: One of "the Mayflower descendants," one of descendants of Pilgrim John Howland; and the New York Heavy Artillery Veterans Association. Succeeding gatherings were: Sept. 10th and 11th, Edison illuminating societies of the United States; Sept. 11th, National Association of Builders; Sept. 20th, National Wholesale Lumbermen's Association (meeting of 50 secretaries); Sept. 25th, American Electro Therapeutic Association, with illustrated lecture by Dr. A. W. Bayliss of Buffalo, on the use of electricity in general practice; Sept. 27th, luncheon by the New York State commissioners to railway passenger agents; Sept. 28th, reception to the Hon. Chauncey M. Depew ("Railroad Day"); Sept. 30th, National Consumers League; Sept. 30th, exercises incident to "Central America Day"; Oct. 5th, American Institute of Architects, 35th annual convention, two sessions and luncheon; Oct. 5th, reception to Pan-American commissioners from South American countries, Mexico, Canada, and various states of the Union, by the commissioners from Peru; Oct. 9th, "New York Day," luncheon to Governor Odell and party; public reception, and evening dinner to the Governor and guests; Oct. 12th, International Sunshine Society.

On Jan. 2, 1902, the deed of the building was formally delivered by the Hon. Daniel N. Lockwood, chairman of the New York State board, to President Langdon of the Historical Society. The Board of Managers of the society held their first meeting in the new building, Aug. 8, 1901, and their last meeting in the old rooms of the Public Library building on April 3, 1902. The work of alteration and redecoration was soon begun, and on its completion, in April, the society began to move in. The work of installation continued until July 1st, on which date the building was again opened to the public. Suitable dedication exercises, including the unveiling of the Lincoln statue, are planned to be held in the autumn of this year. A full record of them, together with a more detailed account of the society's museum, portrait gallery, library, special collections and other features, than can be prepared for the present volume, will appear in the succeeding volume of the society's *Publications*.

The architect had an amusing conversation on the phone when he was first informed of having been chosen, and a *Buffalo Express* reporter made the following story out of it:

At a meeting of the committee at Murray Hill Hotel, New York, on Saturday, May 5, 1900, R. W. Gibson, after a careful study of the plans, decided in favor of Mr. George Cary of Buffalo. The committeemen were desirous of having Mr. Cary meet them in New York, to give some added information about his drawings, and Secretary B. R. Newton was instructed to telegraph to him to come to New York at once. A dispatch elicited the information that he was in New York. More telegraphing brought forth his address, and then search for Mr. Cary began. Early in the afternoon, much to the surprise of both, Mr. Cary and Mr. Newton were in telephonic communication, and this is about the way the dialogue ran:

"This is Mr. Cary?"

"Yes, it is. Who is this? I have been pestered all day. Now what do you want?"

"Well, this is the Secretary of the State Pan-American Board. We want to see you down here in an hour without fail."

"Why—ah—what is wanted?"

"You're it; that's all."

"I'm it! (With worried inflection.) I don't exactly get your meaning."

"Well, be here in an hour, at the Murray Hill, and I'll explain it."

There was a pause, during which, it is related, Mr. Cary's face assumed an expression of profound anxiety and perplexity.

"I can't do it," said he at length. "I'm at a wedding, am usher, and the ceremony will begin in five minutes. Explain what you mean by 'it,' will you, please?"

"To be brief," replied Secretary Newton, "your plans for a State building have been accepted."

"Oh-h-h (with full swing), that's it?"

"Yes, that's it!"

In an hour Mr. Cary was at the Murray Hill Hotel. Whether the wedding ceremony was cut short or whether he shirked his duties, he did not explain. Other things interested him. He had been pitted against several firms of renown and had won.

At the first meeting the architect was called to attend, one of the committeemen, eying him with suspicion, remarked: "Well, I hear you have no political friends, and you have pulled no wires to get this job. I know a thing or two about horses and cows, as I am a farmer down East, but I ain't nothing on architecture. Do you know Mr. Gibson?"

"We have met, but perhaps he would not recall me."

"Then he ain't no friend of yours? Well, I am glad you got the job, for it will take it out of politics."

Thanks to the State committee, especially to Messrs. Lockwood, Greiner and Franchot, and the Buffalo Historical Society for making an additional appropriation, we have the building as it stands today.

The building is of white Vermont marble, in the classic order of architecture known as the Greek Doric, being of the same order as the Parthenon at Athens, by Pericles.* This would seem best to harmonize with the Albright Art Gallery on the opposite side of the Park Lake, designed in the spirit of the Erechtheum, which stands with the Parthenon on the Acropolis. The Greek Doric is suggestive of solidity and force, has little carving, and its lines are all curved slightly upward. As exhibited in the monuments of the age of Pericles at Athens, the Greek Doric combines with solidity and force, the most subtle and delicate refinement of outlines and proportion that architecture has known.

Our building is a rectangle about 130 feet by 80 feet, and 50 feet high. On the north front, during the exposition, was the statue "Aspiration," by Mrs. Harry Payne Whitney (formerly Gertrude Vanderbilt). The northern facade is faced with three-quarter columns, and the entrance is through the bronze doors which were the gift of Mr. Andrew Langdon, president of the Buffalo Historical Society. The

*The Parthenon was built by Pericles, but the architects were Ictinus and Callicrates, a part of the sculptured decorations being ascribed to Phidias. Ictinus deserves the credit which is usually given to Pericles. That the name of many an architect of noble buildings is lost, is a reproach to history.

THE LANGDON BRONZE DOORS, HISTORICAL BUILDING.

panels in these doors, representing "History" and "Ethnology," are the work of R. Hinton Perry.*

On the south of the building, alongside of the marble steps leading to the lower path, were, during the exposition, Andersen's equestrian groups called "Progress." The broad marble stairs, 40 feet in width, between two flanking pedestals, lead up to the southern portico, 61 by 17 feet, embellished by 10 Greek Doric columns. The stairs are one inch higher in the middle than at the sides, giving what the Greeks used so much, curved instead of straight lines.

The columns are the same proportion as those of the Parthenon, and are made in three blocks of solid marble, about three feet six inches in diameter at the base.

In the center, at the foot of these stairs and the terrace landing, during the exposition, was Elwell's statue "Intelligence," a female figure sitting on a throne. A ball in the left hand represented the divine and perfect law out of which crude man came. In order to receive this perfect divine law of intelligence, man must crucify himself, therefore the crucifix. An open book on the lap of the statue represents natural intelligence among men. The feet of the goddess In-

* These beautiful bronze doors, one of the most notable features of the building, merit a further word. The subjects and style of execution were long under consideration by President Langdon, and the leading sculptors of America were consulted. The design was made by J. Woodley Gosling, designer for the Henry Bonnard Bronze Company of New York, who worked it out from the sketches and suggestions by Mr. Langdon. The sculptor was R. Hinton Perry and the plaster cast was made by Ellison, Kitson & Co. of New York. The bronze was cast by the Henry Bonnard Bronze Company and, including the transom, weighs 3,900 pounds. The work is twelve feet six inches high and six feet three inches wide. Each door, or gate, weighs 1,200 pounds. The panel of the right-hand gate is decorated with a female figure emblematic of Ethnology. In her hands are gracefully held a skull and Indian implements of peace and warfare. The opposite panel contains a female figure representing History. One hand has pushed back a veil and shades her eyes while she peers into the future. A lamp in her right hand is emblematic also of History's searching into the dark places of the past for knowledge. The figures are beautifully molded and constitute the chief charm of the work. Beneath each figure is the inscription: "These Gates the Gift of Andrew Langdon to the Buffalo Historical Society. A. D., M. C. M." Above the doors, in a bronze transom of classic Greek design, is set the seal of the society. It is supported on one side by a reclining figure emblematic of Science, and on the other by a similar figure, carrying a palette and brush, representing Art. Science bears a globe in her hand. The work as a whole is of a high order of merit.

telligence rest on a stool with swine's feet, representing the lowest form of natural intelligence.*

The building is located on sloping land on the axis of a semi-circle, in the northwest corner of the park, adjacent to Elmwood Avenue, and is best seen from the park bridge. Advantage is taken of the sloping ground to make a bicycle entrance to the basement, under the portico stair, at grade level. There are likewise entrances at ground level from the eastern and western terraces directly into the basement statuary hall, while to the north the entrance is up a flight of steps to the first floor, leading into the lobby which gives access to what was used, during the exposition, as the Governor's room at the east end; a committee-room at the west end, to cloak-rooms or offices and toilet-rooms to the north; as well as entrances to all other rooms to the south.†

Back or south of the lobby, or between the audience hall to the west, and the library to the east, is the grand hall, opening out on the southern porch. The hall of statues is under this, and the dining-room is under the library. The rooms of the first floor are 15 feet high, and the audience hall seats 250 persons.

The grand hall has a black marble floor, wainscoting, columns and door trim of the same material, and the decoration for the exposition period was gold and royal purple. It is the largest room in the building, opening up into the upper floor.

The second floor runs up into the roof, making the rooms 18 feet high. It is entirely lighted by skylights and is intended to be used for museum purposes, such as the Cluny Museum in Paris.

On the landing at the head of the stairs the circuit of the

* This and other perishable figures that adorned the exterior of the building during the summer of 1901, emphasized the architectural beauty of the structure, and suggested the great desirability of statues of suitable subjects, as permanent adjuncts.

† On taking possession of the building at the close of the exposition, the Historical Society removed the northern partition of the lobby, on either side of the north entrance, thus adapting the building better to its own purposes. For this feature of the interior as it stands, therefore, the architect is obviously not responsible.

five museum rooms may be made without retracing one's steps.

The smaller rooms are proposed to be called the Lincoln and Washington rooms, and the long room between is arranged for bronzes, statuary, etc., seen from all parts of the museum floor. These upper rooms have Tennessee marble floor, pedestals, etc., and green side walls.*

There are spandrels, lunettes, and panels waiting to be painted or decorated through the generosity of our citizens. The architect has given the canvas found over the central lunette. It was painted by Tabor Sears. The vertical radius is emphasized by a principal figure, "The Muse of Niagara," typifying in a single figure the artistic expression of the various forms of literary, musical, or artistic work, which the inspiration of Niagara has prompted, or may suggest for the future. This is significant, inasmuch as the falls have been painted, and praised in literature, and so long as the falls are impressive and magnificent they will be a subject for future production. The genii at each side represent, first, the irrigation of the earth, in the form of a child with the water-horn; second, the consequent fruition of the earth, represented by a child weaving a fruit garland. The background is the Niagara Falls, and the primeval shore.

The outside pediment to the south is void of statuary, waiting for a donation, and the exterior blocks of solid marble over the window openings are ready to be carved at some future date. Bear in mind that the Parthenon, which was finished 2500 years since, or 436 B. C., cost \$3,000,000 and was made beautiful and historic through its statuary and friezes. Lord Elgin carried away 200 feet of the frieze, the statues of the Parthenon, and everything he could lay his hands on. These marbles are now to be seen in the British Museum.

The Historical Society building is absolutely fire-proof, built at a cost of \$175,000, including everything as it stands.

*The building has been redecorated since the Historical Society took possession. The grand hall is finished in olive greens and gold, the lecture hall in cream and ivory tints, the library and dining room in yellow and brown ochre, and the museum and art gallery rooms on the second floor in greens.

The State put in \$100,000; the Buffalo Historical Society \$45,000; and the city \$30,000, making \$175,000 in all.*

It was planned to accommodate not only the needs of the exposition, but the ultimate needs of the Historical Society. It was opened to the public 12 months from the time the contract was made, and required 140 different drawings to properly guide the execution of the finish. It is provided with a heating and ventilating plant, and is lighted by a thousand electric lights, the fixtures being of an especially high grade.

* This does not include the cost of alterations, redecorating, etc., incurred since the society took possession.

LINCOLN STATUE, CENTRAL HALL, HISTORICAL SOCIETY BUILDING.
CHARLES H. NICHOLS, SCULPTOR.

APPENDIX.

JULIUS E. FRANCIS AND THE LINCOLN BIRTHDAY ASSOCIATION.

In the marble-pillared central hall of the Buffalo Historical Society's new building is a bronze statue of Abraham Lincoln. The figure, somewhat more than life size, is seated, one leg across the other in characteristic attitude; a document is in the hands. The countenance, looking straight ahead, is full of the ruggedness and the sadness of the great original. From an artistic viewpoint it is a most satisfactory statue; the work of the sculptor Niehaus, and a replica (but for a few minor details) of the Lincoln statue by that artist at Muskegon, Mich. Effectively placed on its black marble pedestal, it is the most notable object in the possession of the Historical Society. For this much-valued work of art the society, and the community which it represents, are indebted to the patriotism and the liberality of Julius E. Francis.

Mr. Francis was born at Wethersfield, Conn., Jan. 11, 1822. He came to Buffalo in 1835 and went to work for his brother, Daniel Francis, a maker of Britannia ware. In 1839, with Charles Coleman, he engaged in the drug business at what is now No. 348 Main Street, and here he continued for over 40 years, Mr. Coleman's interest having been bought in 1856. In 1880 he removed to South Division Street, and on Aug. 1, 1881, he died. He never married; but he took all the school children of Buffalo to his heart, and delighted in planning for them, and carrying out with them, entertainments of a patriotic character.

He was a hero worshipper, and Abraham Lincoln was his hero. During many years, and with much travel and outlay of money, he collected the articles which are embraced in the Lincoln Memorial Collection, now the property of the Buffalo Historical Society. It

comprises three cases of relics of the Civil War, in which are contained battlefield relics from Gettysburg, Antietam, Bull Run, etc., with autographs of 10,322 soldiers and sailors who fought in the war; with their rank, regiment, date of enlistment, and discharge, including the battles in which they were engaged; also 1500 autographs of members of the Forty-third Congress, etc., U. S. Supreme Court Judges and other prominent Government officials; also two volumes, containing a complete collection (1400) of the illustrated envelopes used during the war, with complete bound copies of the *New York Times*, *Harper's Weekly*, and other papers; scrap-books and histories of the war, Adjutant-General's reports, etc. In the collection of these relics Mr. Francis visited the battlefields and attended various meetings of veterans. He began the collection of relics in 1861 and was engaged five years in completing the "Autograph Memorial" volume.

"The Soldiers' and Sailors' Memorial Case" (No. 1) contains 76 battlefield trophies, numbered from 1 to 76, and handsomely mounted; also 127 volumes. This case was dedicated May 3, 1872, at the Grosvenor Library, Millard Fillmore presiding.

Case No. 2 contains the autograph memorials already mentioned, and—with much other interesting war material—a copy of the original memorial to the Forty-third Congress to make Lincoln's birthday a legal holiday. This case is in itself a curiosity, and is a work of art. It was built at a cost of \$1,500, and made from historical woods, the following being a description of the woods inlaid in the case: Left pilaster, 13 stars, oak and pine, Faneuil Hall. Right pilaster, 34 stars, oak, Independence Hall. Upper flag, 50 stars, original California tree. Two Memorials, Charter Oak, Independence Hall and Frigate "Constitution." Four small shields, ornamenting the Memorial of 50 citizens of Buffalo to the Forty-third Congress to make Abraham Lincoln's birthday a national holiday, oak, Independence Hall and "Old Ironsides." Top shield, oak, Independence Hall, pine, Faneuil Hall and California wood. Six stars on sides of case, hemlock, Old South Church, Boston, built 1669. This case was dedicated April 9 and 10, 1876, exercises being held at the Unitarian Church, Hon. James Sheldon presiding. Letters expressing sympathetic interest were read from Henry W. Longfellow, John G. Whittier, George William Curtis, William Cullen Bryant, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Wendell Phillips; and many of Buffalo's citizens shared in the exercises. A third case, the Lincoln Memorial Museum, contains relics numbered from 77 to 103 inclusive.

In addition to the work of collecting the relics to form this

Memorial, Mr. Francis organized the Lincoln Birthday Association. A memorial to the Forty-third Congress was prepared, and signed by 50 citizens of Buffalo, to establish the 12th of February a legal holiday. It was drawn on parchment, backed with blue silk, with 50 white stars, and fine needlework border, inserted in a folding case of French walnut, and enclosed in Russia leather case. It was introduced in the House of Representatives by Hon. Lyman K. Bass, on the 18th of December, 1873, and referred to the Judiciary Committee, who made an adverse report, May 25, 1874. This action did not, however, discourage its originator, who also formed the Alternate Lincoln Birthday Association, composed of young men from the public schools. An "alternate memorial" was also sent to the Forty-third Congress, signed by 50 young men, which was a copy of the original Memorial.

The original Lincoln Birthday Association was incorporated Dec. 24, 1877, with the following trustees: P. P. Pratt, F. L. Danforth, J. R. Brownell, J. P. Dudley, O. P. Ramsdell, J. E. Francis, W. C. Francis, S. C. Adams, and George Meacham.

The first public celebration of Lincoln's birthday took place Feb. 12, 1874, at St. James Hall, Buffalo, and was celebrated each year thereafter during the life of Mr. Francis. It was his pleasure to furnish the halls, the music, both instrumental and vocal (the latter generally being the Liedertafel Society, or other organizations), all at his own expense. He persevered in securing the services of orators for addresses, and also essays and poems written by interested friends. The celebrations were free to all, and a crowded house was always the result. The entertainments were held both afternoon and evening. In addition to this, he issued each year 60,000 beautifully-engraved cards, which were presented to each pupil in the public schools, and sent to Government officials, and others. He also obtained permission to visit the public schools, and arranged with them, through the Superintendent of Education, for appropriate exercises on the 12th of each February. It has been ascertained from the books of Mr. Francis that he expended \$20,000 in this work from 1863 to 1881.

In his last will, Mr. Francis bequeathed to the trustees of the Lincoln Birthday Association his collection of relics, books and documents, and a considerable fund, which included all of his estate except bequests to relatives. By 1900 this fund had become about \$10,000. The trustees of the association at that time were: Joseph P. Dudley, president; G. Barrett Rich, vice-president; Frederick W. Danforth, secretary and treasurer; and James Ash, William E.

Danforth, George Meacham, Guilford R. Francis, Frank L. Danforth and C. Townsend Wilson. The new building plans of the Historical Society having taken final shape, the Lincoln Birthday Association voted to use the greater part of the available fund for a statue of Lincoln, if it might be placed in the central hall of the building. Committees of the two organizations (Messrs. Dudley, Rich and Frederick W. Danforth for the Lincoln Birthday Association, Messrs. Langdon, Hill and Severance for the Historical Society) completed the arrangements; and a contract was agreed upon, whereby the Historical Society assumed the care and preservation of the Lincoln statue and the Francis memorial collections. The statue, after the model by Niehaus, was cast in bronze by the Gorham Mfg. Co.; and suitably placed on a black marble pedestal, the gift of the Lautz Co. of Buffalo, just prior to the opening of its building to the public by the Historical Society in June of the present year.

THE NIAGARA FRONTIER LANDMARKS ASSOCIATION.

The Niagara Frontier Landmarks Association had its origin in a meeting of the Buffalo Chapter of the Empire State Society, Sons of the American Revolution, held at the Buffalo Club on the evening of April 23, 1900. At that meeting a resolution, proposed by the Hon. W. Caryl Ely, was adopted, which called for the appointment of a committee of five, from Buffalo Chapter, S. A. R., who should co-operate with committees from other patriotic and historic societies "that may be interested in considering a plan for locating, along the Niagara Frontier, suitable monuments to commemorate historical events." A committee was appointed by Trueman G. Avery, president of the Buffalo Chapter; and, soon thereafter, by other organizations. Before the work of marking sites was entered upon, nine organizations were represented in the Niagara Frontier Landmarks Association, by the following committees:

Sons of the American Revolution:—W. Caryl Ely, Clarence M. Bushnell, Herbert P. Bissell, Prof. Horace Briggs, Trueman G. Avery.

Sons of the Revolution:—George W. Comstock, William Y. Warren, Henry R. Howland, Col. Albert J. Meyer, Nathaniel Rochester.

Buffalo Historical Society:—Frank H. Severance, Dr. A. L. Benedict, James Sweeney, George D. Emerson, Capt. Louis L. Babcock, Andrew Langdon.

Society of the War of 1812:—Dr. Joseph T. Cook, Sheldon T. Viele, Alexander W. Hoffman.

Society of Colonial Wars:—John M. Provost, John W. Crafts, Fisher C. Atherton, Philip S. Smith, Drake Whitney, George A. Stringer.

Daughters of the American Revolution:—Mrs. C. C. Wyckoff, Mrs. Frank W. Abbott, Miss Ada M. Kenyon, Mrs. R. J. Sherman, Mrs. John Miller Horton, Mrs. Mary N. Thompson.

Children of the American Revolution:—Mrs. Oscar L. Harries, Miss Edna E. Choate, Burt C. Hayes, Mrs. Edward C. Bull, Miss Christina M. Nuno, Jerome Fargo.

Men's Club of Lewiston:—Dr. George S. Hobbie, J. Boardman Scovell, Rev. J. H. Ross, Dr. T. A. Kerr, Willard Hopkins, J. C. Hooker.

Niagara Frontier Historical Society:—Hon. Peter A. Porter, Hon. George W. Wright, Hon. Thomas V. Welch, William A. Philpott, Jr., Edward T. Williams, Prof. T. B. Lovell.

A meeting for organization was held at the residence of Trueman G. Avery in Buffalo, Nov. 14, 1900, at which were present representatives of the Sons of the American Revolution, Sons of the Revolution, Daughters of the American Revolution, Children of the American Revolution, the Society of Colonial Wars, and the Buffalo Historical Society. The coöperation of the Society of the War of 1812, the Niagara Frontier Historical Society, and the Men's Club of Lewiston was pledged; and from that date these nine organizations have worked together, through their committees, in prosecution of the proposed work, while correspondence has been carried on with the Ontario Historical Society, regarding suitable marking of sites on the Canadian side of the Niagara.

At the meeting of Nov. 14, 1900, Trueman G. Avery was made chairman and George D. Emerson secretary. Committees on sites and organization were named. At a meeting held Dec. 26, 1900, these committees were enlarged, and working organization effected as follows:

Officers:—Trueman G. Avery, chairman; Mrs. John Miller Horton, vice-chairman; George D. Emerson, secretary; Philip S. Smith, treasurer.

Committee on Sites:—Frank H. Severance, chairman; Philip S. Smith, Mrs. Mary N. Thompson, Prof. Horace Briggs, J. Boardman Scovell, Henry R. Howland, Mrs. Oscar L. Harries. Hon. Peter A. Porter, A. W. Hoffman.

Finance Committee:—George A. Stringer, chairman; W. Caryl Ely, Mrs. John Miller Horton, James Sweeney, Nathaniel Rochester, Mrs. Edward C. Bull, Thomas V. Welch, Dr. George S. Hobbie.

Committee on Tablets:—George D. Emerson, chairman; Burt C. Hayes, Herbert P. Bissell, Philip S. Smith, Prof. T. B. Lovell, Nathaniel Rochester, J. C. Hooker, Miss Ada M. Kenyon.

Frank H. Severance, for the Committee on Sites, submitted the following

REPORT ON HISTORIC SITES.

The Committee on Sites, named at the general meeting held on Nov. 14th (1900), reports as follows:

To us was assigned the task of specifying spots of historic interest on the American frontier of the Niagara worthy of being marked by monument or tablet.

We have interpreted our field to extend from the south limits of

Buffalo to Lake Ontario, including all sites within the present limits of the City of Buffalo, other cities and towns on the Niagara, and the intervening country.

It is advisable to discriminate between spots of purely local interest and those of wider significance. In view of the greater interest which attaches to those of the latter class, as many are here designated as possible, with the assurance of accuracy. Many spots of considerable local interest are not mentioned in this report; the aim being, however, to specify the most important. The method of our survey is geographical, not chronological. We begin with the southern limits of the field, and proceed northerly.

There are, in the southern and eastern portions of Buffalo several sites known to students of Indian remains and ethnology; it would not be inappropriate to mark these sites of burial places, mounds, battlefields, or camps; but as they are prehistoric and of unassignable dates, consideration of them is not within our present province.

In point of known events, South Buffalo is the oldest part of the present city. On Buffalo Creek, some three or four miles from its mouth, the first Seneca Indian villages were established during the Revolutionary War, refugees settling there in 1779-80, after Sullivan's raid had destroyed their old homes in the Genesee Valley. In this neighborhood was built a council house, at which councils and treaties of national importance were held. Associated with it are the names of Young King, Farmer's Brother, Red Jacket, and other Indian celebrities. Your committee knows at present of no data by which to fix the exact location of this council house. If its site should hereafter become known, the spot merits a memorial tablet.

Of considerable local interest in this vicinity is the well-known site of the Seneca Mission Church, built 1826, abandoned 1843, and gradually destroyed during succeeding years. Indian Church Road now runs through the old churchyard and near the site of the building. Near by were the original graves of Red Jacket and other chiefs, and of Mary Jamison. Their historic bones were long since removed to other resting places—Mary Jamison to Portage in 1874, the chiefs to Forest Lawn in 1884 and 1894; but the site still remains, somewhat encroached upon, it is true, but unobliterated as yet, the empty graves still shaded by fine large walnuts and oaks. The acquisition by the city of this little plot of historic ground, and its incorporation into the Park system, would seem the ideal way to preserve its ancient landmarks from early obliteration. In any event, the site of the graves should be accurately marked.

Of even greater interest is the Seneca Mission House on Buffam Street. Built prior to 1831, it is still in good preservation, with heavy hewn black walnut beams that bid fair to withstand the tooth of time for many a year to come. In this house, from 1831 to 1844, dwelt the Rev. Asher Wright, missionary to the Senecas, and his gifted and devoted wife. Here, in 1839, was set up the Mission Press, on which, in the Seneca language, from specially made type, were printed portions of the Scriptures, hymnals, spelling books, a Seneca lexicon—this, at least, was begun—and a periodical, the *Mental Elevator*, in the Seneca tongue. This report is not the place to dwell upon the importance of the work of Mr. and Mrs. Wright. The publication feature alone of their varied labors is remarkable enough, as scholars of Indian linguistics have abundantly testified, to merit commemoration. It is suggested that a tablet or monument at the Mission House might bear not only an inscription in memory of the Wrights, but could record briefly the fact that in the vicinity formerly stood the Council House, the exact site not being known. It is probable that the exact site of Red Jacket's log house, somewhere in this vicinity, can yet be ascertained.

In the list of sites of merely local interest the first white settler's house will be expected. That distinction is awarded to the house erected by Cornelius Winne in 1789, on what is now the east side of Washington Street, at the head of Quay Street.

More worthy of commemoration is the first schoolhouse, built in 1807-'8 on the west side of Pearl Street, just below Swan. It was burned Dec. 30, 1813. The site is now occupied by the Dun building, which offers a substantial wall for the affixing of a tablet.

The first house for religious worship erected in Buffalo stood on the west side of Pearl Street, a short distance south of Niagara Street; just how far south is, so far as your committee's researches have discovered, a matter of doubt, but the weight of evidence indicates that the spot is now covered by Shea's Garden Theater. The church was begun Dec. 18, 1818, and was dedicated Jan. 24, 1819. Prior to this date, religious worship was held in dwelling houses, and, by the Presbyterians, in a carpenter shop at the northeast corner of Main and Huron streets.

The only dwelling house in Buffalo which was spared at the burning, Dec. 30-31, 1813, had been built by Gamaliel St. John, beginning Jan. 24, 1810, on Inner Lot 53 of the Holland Land Company's survey. This was on the west side of Main Street, nearly midway between Mohawk and Court streets. The middle part of the Becker building, occupied by the H. A. Meldrum Co., covers the site.

At least one house now within the city limits antedates the burning of Buffalo. In 1813 it was too far from the village to share in the general destruction, and no interest worthy of our attention attaches to it because of that event.

The Public Library building offers a sightly wall for a tablet commemorative of the fact that approximately that site was occupied by the first court house in Niagara County, built 1810, burned 1813; and by the second court house, built 1817, abandoned March 11, 1876, and soon after demolished—Buffalo being the county seat of Niagara County until 1821, when Erie County was erected. The site that for over 60 years was the center for the administration of justice on the American side of the Niagara may appropriately be marked for the edification of later generations.

Lafayette Square may well contain a tablet to inform the public of the more notable events in its history. In front of the Eagle Tavern, west side of Main Street, now Nos. 418 and 420—just south of Court Street—Gen. Lafayette was presented to the public by Gen. Porter, the public reception resulting in the present name of the square. In this square, among other celebrities, at different times, Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, and Kossuth, have spoken; and here, in 1848, the National Free Soil party nominated Van Buren and Adams—the only national political convention ever held in Buffalo.

The former home of Millard Fillmore, on Niagara Square, might suitably bear a plate to inform the stranger that here resided, after his retirement from office, till his death in 1874, a President of the United States, to whom the country is indebted, among other things, for cheap postage, the enlargement of the National Capitol, and the Perry treaty which opened Japan to the world.

No events in the history of Buffalo have had a greater effect upon her development than the first improvement of the harbor and the extension hither of the Erie Canal. The man who was chiefly instrumental in bringing about these events was Judge Samuel Wilkeson; and two sites are particularly associated with his memory; the entrance to the harbor which he helped to create, and the Wilkeson homestead on Niagara Square.

The Niagara River front, from the Terrace to Black Rock, has several sites of interest, especially in connection with the War of 1812. There was a battery, which saw but little service, on the Terrace. Another overlooked the Niagara from the edge of the bluff at the foot of Vermont Street, the actual site utterly obliterated by the construction of the Erie Canal, but now overlooked from the Front, most nearly approached a short distance south of the memorial to the

13th U. S. Infantry. Still another battery was on the high bank just south of the foot of Massachusetts Street, and within the limits of the present Fort Porter. As in the case of the battery just mentioned, it is probable that the construction of the Erie Canal, and later of the railroad, left only empty air where formerly was this defensive work; but the edge of the bluff, at the point indicated, is the nearest approach thereto, on the old level. No place in Buffalo commands a finer view; a point of popular resort, a tablet at this point would be seen by thousands and add the historic to the present scenic interest.

The exact site of the stone keep of Fort Porter—a part of the walls of which are still standing, a few feet under the present parade ground—should not be lost; appropriate, too, would be some permanent reminder of the barracks that, from 1838 up to the Mexican War, perhaps even later, stood on the tract bounded by Main, North, Delaware and Allen streets, and filled a prominent part in the military and social life of Buffalo.*

Perhaps the point of greatest historic interest on the upper Niagara is the site of the old terry, in use at least as early as Revolutionary times, and by means of which thousands of the first settlers in Michigan and the Middle West passed to their destination. This ferry was at the famous black rock, which gives its name to the village. The rock itself was destroyed in the construction of the Erie Canal. It was an out-crop of the local limestone, some 200 or 300 feet long, extending, a natural wharf, into the river at a point approximately opposite the south line of the street railway company's buildings, west side of Niagara Street below the junction of Front Avenue. The abandoned Fort Street marked the approach to it.

Fort Tompkins, otherwise Fort Adams, a defensive work of considerable importance during the War of 1812, occupied ground now covered by the southern portion of the street railway company's buildings, on the site above defined.

A third battery of the 1812 period, adjoined on the south the foot of Gull Street, most of the site being now occupied by a factory. A

*Since this report was made, the assassination of President McKinley in Buffalo has given a public interest to three sites in Buffalo, which should be duly marked: One, the spot where the President was shot Sept. 6, 1901, being the site of the Temple of Music of the Pan-American Exposition, not far to the north of the Historical Society building; another, the Milburn home, No. 1168 Delaware Avenue, where President McKinley died Sept. 14, 1901; and a third, the Wilcox home, No. 641 Delaware Avenue, where Theodore Roosevelt took the oath of office as President, Sept. 14, 1901. This last-named house, now modernized, was the commandant's headquarters of Poinsett Barracks, and though it has been turned around, still stands on a part of the tract mentioned in the report.

cannon, found here a few years ago, when excavations were made for the foundations of the factory, is now mounted in Lafayette Park.

More important yet was the Sailors' Battery, at the south angle of the Niagara and the Scajaquada Creek. The site, for many recent years occupied by buildings of the Shepard Iron Works, is now bare, surrounded by a high fence, and forms part of the yard of a gas tank. It is the least accessible and most important of the batteries of that period in the limits of Buffalo.

To the east of the present Niagara Street bridge, on the south bank of the Scajaquada, is the site of the old Black Rock shipyard. Here a part of Perry's fleet was fitted out for the battle of Lake Erie. Here, or on the Niagara River side, in 1818, was built the *Walk-in-the-Water*, the first steamboat on the lakes; and here were built many of the most famous steamboats that followed her, and many canal boats—of the old packet type—prior to 1840. Near by is the site of a blockhouse, built in 1808.

That neighborhood has abundance of historic association, none, however, of greater interest than the battle which was fought at the bridge over the Scajaquada, on Aug. 3, 1814. Early in the morning of that day a force of British under Lieut.-Col. Tucker of the 41st British Line, with the design of capturing Buffalo and destroying the stores, arms, and supplies there, attacked the American forces at Scajaquada Creek, at the bridge, a rod or so to the west of where Niagara Street now crosses the creek. The American forces were loosely entrenched on the south bank of the creek, and consisted of the First Battalion of the First Regiment, commanded by Major Morgan, with a small number of scattered auxiliaries. The Americans had partially removed the roadway of the bridge. The first assault of the British failed after severe fighting, and a second and very daring attempt was made by the British to repair the bridge under fire; this attempt also failed. After a short delay a third and final assault was made at the bridge, and also about 200 feet above the bridge, which, after more severe fighting, was finally repulsed, and the British retreated to the Canadian side. The total number of men engaged on the British side was 1,200 and on the American side not more than 350. The conflict was sharp, bloody, and, on account of the disparity of numbers, especially creditable to the American forces, although very great gallantry was displayed by the British, especially in the second assault. This battle saved the supplies at Buffalo, disheartened the British, encouraged the Americans, and indirectly aided in the final victory at Fort Erie. It is, therefore, worthy in all respects of a proper commemorative tablet. It is sug-

gested that a tablet affixed to the present iron bridge might record the battle of Black Rock, with allusions to the Sailors' Battery on the one hand and the old shipyard and blockhouse on the other.

But most storied in associations, of all spots on the river front in Buffalo, is the Porter House, below Ferry Street, the most historic building in the city. Erected in 1816 by Gen. Peter B. Porter, it is today, not the oldest, but the best house of its age, in Buffalo. Gen. Porter occupied it until 1836, among his guests being Gen. Lafayette, John Quincy Adams, DeWitt Clinton, and other distinguished men, including Red Jacket, and every prominent Indian of the vicinity. Passing into the hands of Lewis F. Allen, it continued for many years a house of distinguished hospitality. Mr. Allen's guests included Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, Gen. Scott, Gen. McComb, and others not less famous; and a member of his household for a time was his nephew, Grover Cleveland, Buffalo's second President of the United States. Shorn of much of its surrounding estate, first by the construction of the canal, then of the railroad, and later by sale of land for buildings, the house still stands by itself apart, the embodiment of more Niagara Frontier history than any other structure in Buffalo. It gives a distinction to the city which no modern structure could supply. It should be preserved. The observation is ventured, that the acquisition—or even the lease—of this house by one or more of our patriotic societies, and the dedication of it to commemorative uses, would be, however unpractical, an ideal way of memorializing the place.

About two blocks north of the Porter house, or one block beyond the building which was the Breckenridge Street Church (the oldest building erected for a church now standing in the city), is the scene of the heavy fighting in the first battle of Black Rock. On July 11, 1813, the British made their first attempt to capture Black Rock and Buffalo. Cols. Bishop and Warren, with 250 men, crossed the river, landed below Squaw Island, marched to the Navy Yard on the Scajquada and occupied it before they were discovered. They burned the barracks and blockhouse there, and the barracks at Fort Tompkins. Maj. Adams, in command at Black Rock, sent to Buffalo for reinforcements. One hundred regulars, under Capt. Cummings, the same number of militia under Maj. Adams, 30 volunteers from Buffalo Plains, under Capt. Hull; Capt. Bull's company from Buffalo, and 30 Indians led by Farmer's Brother, met the enemy in line near Fort Tompkins, the present site of the Street Railway Company's power house. After sharp fighting the English gave way, and retreated to their boats, the Americans pursuing; the heaviest fighting

taking place just south of Auburn Avenue, near Mason Street. The English lost about 100 killed, wounded and missing, and 15 prisoners. The American loss was three killed and five wounded, among the latter being the Seneca chief Young King. This engagement might be mentioned on a tablet commemorative of Fort Tompkins, placed in the wall of the Street Railway Co.'s building; or at the Porter house, which stands on ground fought over. Mason Street, mentioned above, is an obscure, picturesque little street one block long, from Breckenridge to Auburn, between Niagara Street and the New York Central Railroad.

Before leaving Buffalo, it may be remarked that although the business of this report is with sites and not with people, yet any project of historic commemoration in Buffalo would be conspicuously incomplete which gave no thought to Joseph Ellicott. The generous tract of land which he reserved for himself was bounded by Eagle, Swan and Main streets, running east to what is now Jefferson Street. The name of the founder of the city is preserved to us in Ellicott Square, the office building on a part of the above-named tract; and in the name of a street. The Goodrich house, built in 1823 or '24, near the northeast corner of Main and High streets, was begun by Mr. Ellicott, and he occupied it a short time in 1825. Removed by Mr. John C. Glenny, nearly 20 years ago, to Amherst Street, it still stands there, one of Buffalo's most beautiful houses, and the only one in the city directly associated with the founder of Buffalo. Ellicott Square makes the name familiar; upon it, or within it, an inscription might suitably be placed. The ideal memorial, in addition thereto, would be a statue of Joseph Ellicott in the center of the court.

Before leaving Buffalo and passing down the river it is well to note that Buffalo Plains, especially that portion of it known as Flint Hill, has many associations connected with the War of 1812. The original graves of the soldiers now buried in the well-marked grave in the Park meadow, were not far from the banks of the Scajaquada, on the old Granger place. The Buffalo Historical Society has already placed a cannon, suitably inscribed and protected, at the old soldiers' burying ground on Eleven Mile Creek, near Williamsville. If this organization choose to extend its survey as far as that village, it should mark the Evans house, said to have been built—in its oldest portion—in 1797, and generally regarded as the oldest house in Erie County. It was used by Gen. Winfield Scott as headquarters for a time during the War of 1812; prior to 1823 it was a tavern; was deeded to Lewis Ellicott Evans, Dec. 26, 1823, and is still owned by the Evans family.

Passing north along the Niagara, there is nothing that demands our attention at the Tonawandas. The first site of Maj. Noah's Ararat, a refuge city for the Jews, is well known and might be marked for the edification of the curious. Your committee says "first" site. The reason thereof is apparent to anyone familiar with Lewis F. Allen's entertaining history of the matter, wherein he tells of the peripatetic monument which he, and not Maj. Noah, built at Whitehaven, opposite Tonawanda.

One other site on Grand Island may be mentioned here—Burnt Ship Bay, at the northern end, where, in 1759, after the loss of Fort Niagara, the French burned and sunk two of their vessels, to prevent them from falling into the hands of the British.

Of all the historic sites on the Niagara, first in popular interest is the spot where La Salle, in 1679, built the Griffon, the first vessel, other than a bark canoe, to navigate the upper lakes. This is on the eastern bank of the arm of the river known as the Little Niagara, about opposite the middle of Cayuga Island, a short distance south of the mouth of Cayuga Creek. Approximately on the same spot, now on the Angevine farm, the United States, about 1804, established a shipyard, where a vessel was built and others were repaired for some years. Happily, the topography of the spot cannot have suffered much change through the lapse of years. A monument on the spot will be near much-traveled highways, and plainly visible from the windows of passing trolley car or railway train.

From this point northerly to Lake Ontario, historic sites not only abound, but relate, many of them, to a period whose history is not shared by Buffalo; the period of French occupancy, from 1678—one may say, from 1626, thus including the visits of the first white men known to have reached our river—to 1759. The same points, in many cases, are associated successively with British and American domination.

The so-called Tunnel or New Factory district, on the southern edge of the city of Niagara Falls, embraces several points that demand attention.

First—Schlosser dock, where, about 1816, was built a storehouse by Porter, Barton & Co., it being the upper end of the new portage from Lewiston, and the great shipping point above the Falls for a vast amount of freight to and from the West. There are two sites on the American shore especially associated with the Patriot War of 1837. One is the spot in Breckenridge Street, Buffalo—in front of the old church—where Gen. Winfield Scott planted his cannon; the other, and more important, this old dock. Here it was, on the

night of Dec. 29, 1837, that the British seized the "Caroline"—one man being killed on the dock in the fray—towed her into the stream, set fire to her and sent her blazing toward the Falls. This affair, which threatened to involve the United States and Great Britain in another war, can most appropriately be marked on the site of the old dock. Another site to note in this connection is that of Mackenzie's camp on Navy Island.

Second—A short distance below the site of the old dock is the site of Fort Schlosser, built by the British in 1760.

Third—Nearer yet to the Falls, the site of Fort Little Niagara, built in 1759.

Fourth—Near this, the old stone chimney, an ideal landmark as it stands, but threatened with destruction. It was built by the French, as a part of their barracks, about 1750. Ten years later, the French buildings being destroyed, the English attached to the chimney a large dwelling, using a framework which the French had some time before prepared for a chapel at Fort Niagara. This house, later known as Steadman's, was burned in 1813, the chimney being once more left, as a monument to the vicissitudes of time.

On the present Portage road, a quarter of a mile or so from the river, can still be traced the outlines of one of the blockhouses erected in 1764 by Capt. John Montresor. It was the last of several built by him to protect the road for the passage of Bradstreet's army.

Near the upper end of the State Reservation is the site of Frenchman's Landing, the upper end of the old Indian trail about the Falls, and the termination of the earliest portage. Here, about 1745, a blockhouse and storehouse were erected by the French.

Within the bounds of the State Reservation, although interesting associations attach to many points, there is not a site known to possess particular historic significance. The establishment of the Reservation, as a park free to the world, is the most significant event that has happened there. A tablet, recording the names of those chiefly interested in bringing about that consummation, and the date when it was opened free to the world—July 15, 1885—erected at a sightly point in the Park, would add to the gratification of visitors. For this, the coöperation of the Park Commissioners should be enlisted.

A short distance north from the northerly boundary of the Reservation, is the site of the Indian Ladder of days before settlement. It was a tall cedar, with branches lopped off about a foot from the trunk, fastened to the face of the cliff. By this means, Indians and early white visitors descended to the water below.

Midway on the road to Lewiston are Bloody Run and the Devil's Hole, the scene of the massacre of September, 1763. Here the

Senecas ambushed a British supply train, on the first return journey over the reconstructed portage road from Fort Schlosser to Fort Niagara, only three of about 100 men escaping. A little farther north, the same Indians ambushed a British relieving force of two companies, hastening up from the site of Lewiston, only eight escaping the second slaughter. A blockhouse was built by Montresor, in 1764, on the north side of the Run, near the edge of the cliff. The present trolley line runs within a few feet of it.

In this connection a word may be added regarding some points to which historic associations are, as we believe, erroneously imputed. In this class belong the cave and so-called Council Rock in the Devil's Hole glen; and Hennepin's Point, in the State Reservation.

The edge of the escarpment or "mountain" overlooking Lewiston has many associations, some of them the most important in our frontier history. This was the last of Father Hennepin's "three mountains," up which were toilsomely carried the anchors and cordage for the Griffon. Here is the site of the first of the blockhouses which Montresor built in 1764. Here was the upper end of the incline for hoisting goods from the river below—which may be regarded as the first railroad in America—and here is the site of the garrisoned storehouses built by the French in 1751. Here, too, in 1812, was built the earthwork known as Fort Gray.

Passing down the mountain, we come, on the Lewiston plateau, to the site of Joncaire's cabin; built 1719, soon enlarged to a fort called "Magazin Royal," France's first permanent location on the river, which endured for more than a year, and through which was obtained permission to build what became Fort Niagara. Near it were Hennepin's Landing, and the cabin which he built in 1678; and very near are the sites of the small fort built by the British about 1764; of the lower end of the old incline—the actual site obliterated by subsequent works, latest of them being the construction of the new bridge; of the wharves built by the British about 1764; of the storehouses for goods in transit, which were built by the French in 1751, and maintained with increased garrisons by the British from 1759 to 1764; and the approach to the old Lewiston Ferry.

On the height east of Lewiston is the Tuscarora Reservation, the home of the first settlers on the Holland Purchase—a part of the Tuscarora tribe, who settled here in 1780, a spot with many associations of Revolutionary and pioneer days. Near by, below the mountain, are the sites of Gen. Van Rensselaer's camp, the first military camp on this frontier during the War of 1812, and of "Brant's

church," built about 1780 on the Ridge road: the first building on the frontier, outside of Fort Niagara, used as a Protestant church. Around it was the village of the Mohawks, who dwelt here during the "hold-over" period.

On the hill above the Lewiston Ferry landing, right in front of the Barton homestead, is the site where Col. Winfield Scott planted the battery which protected the American troops in their first invasion of Canada on the morning of Oct. 13, 1812.

On the river bank, between Lewiston and Youngstown, are the well-known Five Mile Meadows, where on the night of Dec. 18, 1813, the British landed for their attack on Fort Niagara, which they captured and followed up with the devastation of the whole American frontier.

A little farther along, we come to La Belle Famille, where, in 1759, Sir William Johnson routed the French force from the West which was hastening to relieve Fort Niagara. A portion of this site is now included in the grounds of Mr. O. P. Letchworth.

Within the present limits of Youngstown, on the shore, was the Salt Battery, a principal point in the line of defensive outworks for Fort Niagara during the War of 1812.

We have now arrived at Fort Niagara, the most historic spot on the river; with more history of importance than all the rest of the frontier put together. It cannot be adequately indicated, even, in this report. The following brief syllabus must suffice:

Here is the presumptive site of La Salle's house, built 1669, burnt by the Senecas 1675; here, in 1679, La Salle marked out and built Fort Conti; here was Fort de Denonville, built 1687, abandoned 1688; here still stands the "castle," the foundations of which were laid in 1725, the oldest masonry on the frontier. From this building, enlarged and modified from time to time, first the French and then the English, up to 1796, held sway from Albany westward, over a vast wilderness empire. Here still stand the French barracks, built about 1750; the magazine, built 1754, coming into wide fame in 1826, from the incarceration therein of William Morgan of anti-Masonic fame; the bakehouse, built 1762; and two blockhouses, antedating the Revolution, built respectively in 1771 and 1773, the best specimens of their style of architecture in America. Here, too, is the site, believed to have been lately determined, of the grave of Gen. Prideaux, killed in the siege of July, 1759; and of the old chapel. It is desirable that Government permission be secured in order that excavations may be made. Federal coöperation should also be enlisted in the erection of tablets or monuments on the fort reservation.

East of the fort may still be seen the British parallels built for the siege of 1759. And four miles to the eastward, on the shore of Lake Ontario, our site-hunting tour ends at Prideaux's Landing, where, in 1759, landed the army that was to capture Fort Niagara, and thus aid materially in ending the rule of France in the New World.

It is not the purpose of this association of societies, and therefore no part of the duty of your committee, to designate historic sites on the Canadian side of the Niagara. But as the coöperation of our friends across the border has already been asked in the good work—in which, by the way, they long since made good beginning—and for the sake of approximate completeness, the following list of important sites on the Canadian side is appended:

Fort Erie, built by Montresor in 1764; built again, 1778; rebuilt in 1790, again in 1791, and a fourth time in 1807, though none of the latter times in the exact former location. A modern association with this vicinity was the battle of Ridgeway, in the Fenian invasion of 1866. Well known, near the fort, are the sites of three British siege works and a line of earthworks, protected by abattis, extending inland for nearly half a mile, and further protected by two blockhouses of the 1812 period. Passing down the river, we come to the battlefield of Chippawa, the "tête du pont" battery of 1812, on Chippawa Creek, and the site of Fort Chippawa, built about 1790. The great battle of Lundy's Lane—Bridgewater or Niagara—is already commemorated by an observatory overlooking the historic and well-cared-for burying-ground. The site of the battle of Queenston Heights is marked by the splendid monument to Gen. Brock; adequately marked, too, is the spot where he was killed, at the foot of the slope. On the heights, near the great monument, may still be traced the outlines of Fort Drummond, and on the very edge of the cliff the redan battery of that period. In Queenston still stands the house in which was printed the first newspaper published in Upper Canada. Below, on the river bank, is the site of Vrooman's battery, of the War of 1812. A short distance above the old town of Niagara, are the remains of Fort George, built 1796, enlarged later and playing a most important part during the War of 1812. In a bastion of this fort, it will be remembered, Gen. Brock was first buried. The town of Niagara is full of historic walls and places. Among the old buildings are Navy Hall, not now on its original site, built 1792, in which was held the first session of the first Parliament of Upper Canada. Still standing, too, are the old barracks used by Butler's Rangers during the Revolutionary period. Fort Mississauga, at the angle of

lake and river, was built by the British in 1814. The old lighthouse, and the British battery at Montreal Point, built 1759, may complete the rough list, which is only intended to show how rich in historic sites is the Canadian side of the Niagara.

Our survey of the whole field suggests the following sites as most worthy of the first attention of the association, others to be taken up from time to time as may be found feasible. First, the shipyard of the Griffon; in Buffalo, the sites of the early court-houses, the St. John house, the first school-house, and the Fillmore house; all located on much frequented thoroughfares. The bridge at Black Rock, the Porter house, and the site of Fort Tompkins, are of at least equal importance with the Buffalo group just named. As the work progresses the old Mission House should receive early attention. Below Niagara Falls, the Devil's Hole should be one of the first to be marked. Two inscriptions are suggested for it: one to be placed on the bank above, at the exact scene of the attack; the other below, at the Gorge Road station leading up into the glen; for this has become an approach to the place for thousands of tourists who do not go thither by the upper road; and a point at Lewiston commemorating the various sites directly adjacent thereto and noted above. The old chimney above the Reservation is the best landmark for its site that could be devised. A protecting railing and suitably inscribed tablet affixed thereon, are suggestions which, with this report as a whole, are respectfully submitted.

FRANK H. SEVERANCE, Chairman,
Buffalo Historical Society.
PETER A. PORTER,
Niagara Frontier Historical Society.
HENRY R. HOWLAND,
Sons of the Revolution.
PHILIP S. SMITH,
Society of Colonial Wars.
HORACE BRIGGS,
Sons of the American Revolution.
MRS. MARY N. THOMPSON,
Daughters of the American Revolution.
MRS. OSCAR L. HARRIES,
Children of the American Revolution.
A. W. HOFFMAN,
Society of the War of 1812.
J. BOARDMAN SCOVELL,
Men's Club of Lewiston.

Acting on a suggestion of the foregoing report, it was decided that the first site to be marked should be the spot where the Griffon was built, and launched in May, 1679. This is on the farm of Jackson Angevine near the village of La Salle, and on the margin of the arm of the Niagara known as the Little Niagara, just south of the mouth of Cayuga Creek. On the afternoon of Aug. 7, 1901, this spot was visited by many members of the Landmarks Association, for a celebration of the 222d anniversary of the sailing of the Griffon. Mrs. John Miller Horton drove a stake to fix the site of the monument; the Hon. Peter A. Porter made a brief address on the history of the place, and resolutions were adopted declaring that the Association would mark the site with a suitable monument.

At the next meeting of the Association, May 9, 1902, Mr. George D. Emerson, chairman of the Committee on Tablets, submitted sketches for tablets for marking the site of the first school-house in Buffalo, the St. John house, and the Battle of Black Rock; and reported that the Niagara Frontier Historical Society of Niagara Falls offered to supply a boulder monument and suitable bronze tablet for the Griffon site. This offer was accepted; and on May 24, 1902, there was a large gathering at the site named, on the margin of the Niagara, for the unveiling of the memorial. Mr. Trueman G. Avery presided. The exercises included a prayer by the Rev. Luke A. Grace, C. M., of Niagara University; the gift from Mr. Angevine to Mr. Avery, in behalf of the Association, of a deed to the land on which the boulder rests; and a presentation address, by the Hon. Peter A. Porter, president of the Niagara Frontier Historical Society, at the close of which Mrs. John Miller Horton drew from the boulder the large American flag which had covered it and its bronze tablet. Mr. George D. Emerson accepted the boulder on behalf of the Niagara Frontier Landmarks Association; Thomas Bailey Lovell, LL. D., principal of the Cleveland Avenue High School of Niagara Falls, delivered an historical address; Charles W. Wilcox of Niagara Falls read a poem composed for the occasion, entitled "The Mayflower and Griffon"; and Herbert P. Bissell of Buffalo addressed the assemblage on "The Commercial Development of the Great West." The Hon. George A. Lewis led in the singing of "America," and the highly interesting exercises closed with the benediction pronounced by the Rev. Mr. Grace. A congratulatory telegram was read from President Roosevelt.

The memorial consists of a field boulder of many tons weight, on which is affixed a bronze tablet with this inscription:

Hereabout, in May, 1679,
ROBERT CAVELIER DE LA SALLE

built the Griffon "of sixty tons
burthen," the first vessel to
sail the upper lakes.

Erected by Niagara Frontier Historical Society
and
Presented to Niagara Frontier Landmarks Association,
May, 1902.

The Niagara Frontier Landmarks Association was incorporated May 15, 1902, the following persons being its first board of directors: Trueman G. Avery, Horace Briggs, George D. Emerson, Jeanie L. Harries, John C. Hooker, Katharine Pratt Horton, Henry R. Howland, Nathaniel Rochester, Frank H. Severance, Philip S. Smith, George A. Stringer, Mary N. Thompson and Sheldon T. Viele, all of Buffalo, and Peter A. Porter of Niagara Falls. The annual meeting of the corporation is fixed for the second Thursday in November, in each year.

NOTE.—On July 25, 1902, a bronze tablet was unveiled on the building at No. 460 Main Street, marking the site of the St. John house mentioned on p. 412 of the foregoing report. Addresses were made by Trueman G. Avery, president of the Landmarks Association, and by Prof. Horace Briggs. The tablet was unveiled by Nancy Strong Gardner, four-year-old daughter of Mrs. W. Allen Gardner, who is a daughter of Franklin Sidway, whose father, Jonathan Sidway, married a daughter of Mrs. St. John; the unveiling was therefore performed by a great-great-granddaughter of the pioneer woman whose tact and bravery are commemorated by the tablet. The inscription is as follows: "The site of the St. John house, the only dwelling spared by the British at the burning of Buffalo, Dec. 30-31, 1813. Erected by the Niagara Frontier Landmarks Association, 1902."

On Aug. 2, 1902, a tablet was unveiled on the Niagara-Street bridge, over the Scajaquada, bearing this inscription: "Near and around this spot was fought the battle of Black Rock, August 3, 1814, between American and British troops, in which the former were successful. Erected by Niagara Frontier Landmarks Association, 1902." The exercises, conducted by Buffalo representatives of the Society of the War of 1812, included addresses by George D. Emerson and Hon. Peter A. Porter, the tablet being unveiled by Miss Grace E. Bird and two grandsons of Col. William A. Bird—William A. Bird, Jr., and Cyrus Remington Bird.

ERRATA.—On page 416, 12th line from bottom, for "Cols. Bishop and Warren," read "Lt. Cols. Cecil Bisshopp and Thomas Clark." Warren is stated, by various historians, to have been with Bisshopp on this occupation, the error apparently originating in the account printed in the *Buffalo Gazette*, July 13, 1813. The official letter of Lt. Col. Clark, showing his participation, is printed in the *Collections* of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, vol. 25, pp. 485-6.

CONTRIBUTIONS
TOWARDS A
BIBLIOGRAPHY OF
THE NIAGARA REGION.

THE
UPPER CANADA REBELLION
OF 1837-'38.

Being an Appendix to Volume Five, Buffalo
Historical Society Publications.

BUFFALO, N. Y.

1902.

INTRODUCTION.

The undertaking in the following list is to set down, with some helpful comment, the titles of the books and pamphlets relating in whole or part to the disturbances of 1837-'38 which are variously designated as the Patriot War, Mackenzie's Rebellion, or the Upper Canada Rebellion. I have used the last name, as being more truly descriptive. The years named cover the actual outbreak; but that outbreak was merely an episode in the course of a political movement which began many years before, and only ended with the union of Upper and Lower Canada in 1841. In its broader aspect the rebellion was a phase of a social and political evolution, beginning at least as early as 1817, the effects of which are still potent in the life of the Dominion. Its sources were deeply rooted in Upper Canada when, in the year named, Robert Gourlay began his crusade against abuses. It might be warrantable to regard as the beginning of the literature of the rebellion of '37-8, the thirty-one printed questions which Gourlay published in 1817, asking prominent people what in their judgment did most to retard the development of the province. Gourlay suffered for his zeal—he was banished; but the outcry against the oligarchy known as the Family Compact, the dissatisfaction with the allotment of lands known as the Clergy Reserves, and the demand, in short, that the people should become a more potent factor in the administration of their own affairs, grew louder and deeper until they found a mouthpiece in William Lyon Mackenzie. Utterly unsuited for leadership, and failing miserably in the resort to force, which was never in any sense an uprising of the Canadian people, he was yet the means of hastening the day when the province should receive a form of government more beneficent, more truly representative, than he ever dreamed of in all his clamor for "reform."

It is necessary to set arbitrary bounds to the literature of any historical episode, for events are so related to what has gone before and to what follows, that the only way to compass a subject is to cut away on all sides of it with such judgment as may be, or as befits the specific purpose. Thus in the following list, I have included numer-

ous titles relating to the Clergy Reserves, one of the most substantial of the grievances against which the outcry was raised. But my survey, with very few exceptions, has been confined to the literature of events comprised in the years 1836-'40. It is especially interesting to note how active the pamphleteers and presses were in 1836, the year before the resort to force; and again in 1839, when the many publications, governmental and otherwise, which followed the outlawry and fiasco of arms, suggest the distant rumbling of thunder after the passing of a summer shower. Subsequent writings on the subject have their value, but these contemporary imprints, themselves a part, as it were, of the outbreak, have a unique interest to the student of the history of this region.

Primarily, it is true, the literature of the Upper Canada Rebellion is somewhat apart from that of Western New York, the natural field of research for the Buffalo Historical Society—though border movements are seldom restricted to either side. Incidentally, that rebellion fastened itself upon the United States border from Northern and Western New York to Michigan; and intruded upon a page of our diplomatic relations with Great Britain. Hence the literature of the subject must be taken note of, in any survey of the literature of the Niagara region. In one phase, that literature is peculiarly American, as distinguished from Canadian. Many of the apprehended "Patriots" who were exiled to Van Diemen's Land, claimed residence on this side of the border; and on their return apparently found some satisfaction in writing and printing the story of their sufferings. The narratives of Gates, Marsh, Miller, Sutherland, Wait and others form a unique group of books, of historic value as to their contents, curious and interesting as imprints of the presses of Buffalo, Lockport, Fredonia, and elsewhere half a century or more ago. In the following list are given fac-similes of the title-pages of some of these narratives of exile, with a few other of the rarer books relating to our subject.

The disturbances of 1837-'38 in Upper and in Lower Canada, though distinct in their origin and course, had at least a bond of sympathy, and form practically one page in the history of Canada so far as the evolution of her present form of government is concerned; but it would carry us too far afield to include in the present list the literature of the Lower Canada outbreak, usually called Papineau's Rebellion. Although it is not in any sense literature of the Niagara region, the student of the subject will find his interest naturally extend from the field of the exploits of Mackenzie to that of his French prototype; and he should be familiar with the prin-

cial narratives relating to that phase of the subject. Among them are Carrier's *Les Événements de 1837-8, Esquisse Histoire de l'insurrection du Bas Canada* (Quebec, 1877); David's *Les Patriotes de 1837-1838* (Montreal, 1884); *Journal d'un Exile politique aux terres australes*, by L. Ducharme (Montreal, 1845); Globensky's *La Rebellion de 1837 à Saint-Eustache. Précédé d'un exposé de la situation politique du Bas-Canada depuis la cession*; Felix Poutré's *Echappé de la Potence—Souvenirs d'un prisonnier d'Etat Canadien en 1838* (at least two French editions, Montreal, 1869 and 1884, and an English version, *Escaped from the Gallows, etc.*, Montreal, 1862); *Notes d'un condamné politique de 1838*, by F. X. Prieur (an ed. Montreal, 1884); and the *Memoires relatif à l'emprisonnement de l'honorable D. B. Viger* (Montreal, 1840). Some of these narratives tell of enforced voyages into exile on the notorious prison ship Buffalo, and parallel, in their tales of suffering in Van Diemen's Land, the chronicles of Marsh, Wait and others from Buffalo and vicinity. To the list should perhaps be added the reminiscences of John Fraser contained in his *Canadian Pen and Ink Sketches* (Montreal, 1890).

So far as method is concerned, the present attempt has been to make merely an author catalogue, with cross-references under the principal topical heads which the subject naturally suggests. Books and pamphlets relating wholly or chiefly to this subject are fully collated whenever possible—and there are very few titles in the list which have not been transcribed from the books themselves. Works of broader scope, containing chapters or passages of importance, relating to the rebellion, are recorded with less particularity, though usually the title-page at least is given in full. General reference works, for the most part of easy access to the users of libraries, are indicated as briefly as possible, consistent with clearness. Certain niceties of bibliographical work, such as the indication of alignment on title-pages, and the height of books by the metric system, are not attempted; but it is hoped the usefulness of the list is not greatly impaired thereby. Numerous citations from "Hansard" indicate "Hansard's Parliamentary Debates." The compiler has had no opportunity to examine other documents and papers of the British Parliament.

The compiler cherishes no delusions as to completeness, his understanding being that nothing bibliographical is, ever was or ever will be, either complete or wholly accurate. He has merely done what he could, under hampering conditions of time, space for printing, and opportunity for research. The real basis of the list is his

own library. Next to that he found most material in the Toronto Public Library, where the collection of early pamphlets bearing on the political phases of the subject is probably unrivalled. Special and grateful acknowledgment is made to the librarian of that institution, Mr. James Bain, Jr., for help given. Cordial help has also been given at the Buffalo Public Library.

The hope is entertained, that in subsequent volumes of the Buffalo Historical Society *Publications*, the bibliography of the literature of the Niagara region may be continued with other lists on well-defined periods or episodes. Some of the subjects that naturally suggest themselves are: the French period, *i. e.*, in its historical relation to this region, ending with the capitulation of Fort Niagara in 1759; the Holland Purchase; the Indians; the War of 1812—a vast subject, but of which, so far as known, no adequate bibliography has been published; the Erie Canal; the anti-Masonic episode; the Fenian Raid; and especially the literature of travel, scientific observation and description pertaining to Niagara Falls. Under these and other heads the literature of the region may well be surveyed.

F. H. S.

LITERATURE OF THE UPPER CANADA REBELLION.

ADAM, G. MERCER. *See* Sir John A. Macdonald.

Addresses, presented to His Excellency Major General Sir John Colborne, K. C. B. Lieut.-Governor of Upper Canada, on the occasion of his leaving the Province. Toronto.—R. Stanton, Printer to the King's most Excellent Majesty. 1836.
8vo. pp. 67.

Addresses to Sir Francis B. Head, Bart. from the Legislatures of the British North American Colonies, &c., &c., &c. on his resignation of the Government of Upper Canada. Toronto: R. Stanton, Printer to the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty. 1838.
Reprinted as Appendix B. to Head's Narrative, *q. v.*

Affairs (The) of the Canadas. In a series of letters to the London Times. By a Canadian. London, 1837.
8vo. pp. 75. *See* Rev. A. E. Ryerson, D. D.

Albany Argus, Jan. . . . 1838.
A reprint of the official account of the burning of the Caroline, forwarded to Gov. Marcy.

Annual Register . . . of the year 1837. London, . . . 1838.
Chap. x, Affairs of Canada, History of Canadian discontents, Mr. Hume's defence of his letter to Mr. Mackenzie, speeches of Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Labouchere, Charles Buller, etc., etc.

Annual Register . . . of the year 1838. London . . . 1839.
Chap. i (pp. 1-21) relates wholly to the Canadian insurrection; chaps. ii and iii, to Parliamentary debates and measures in relation thereto. Of prime value to the student of the subject.

Annual Register . . . of the year 1839. London . . . 1840.
Chap. viii, Affairs in Canada, particularly Lord Durham's Report, review of British policy toward Canada, change in the plan, etc.

Annual Register . . . of the year 1840. London . . . 1841.
Chap. viii, Union of the Canadas, sale of Clergy Reserves, etc.

ATKINS, BARTON. The River Niagara, descriptive and historical . . . By Barton Atkins. Buffalo, 1899.

12mo. pp. 44.

Chap. vii, "The Patriot War."

BARBER, JOHN W. and HENRY HOWE. Historical Collections of the State of New York. . . . New York, 1841.

Under "St. Lawrence County," pp. 487-489, is given an account of the battle of Prescott, reprinted from E. A. Theller, *q. v.*; at p. 357, an account of the Caroline affair, quoted from S. DeVeaux, *q. v.*

BARRISTER (A) [*pseud.*] A few words on the subject of Canada. [*quot. 6l.*] London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green & Longman, Paternoster-Row. 1837.

8vo. pp. 52.

BEAVEN, JAMES. [Clergy Reserves.] *See* Am. Church Review, vol. 4, July and Oct. 1851.

An excellent history of the subject.

BETHUNE (*Rev.*) A. N. Thoughts on the lawfulness and expediency of church establishments; and suggestions for the appropriation of the Clergy Reserves in Upper Canada as far as respects the Church of England: in a letter to C. A. Hagerman, Esq. M. P. Solicitor General of Upper Canada. By the Rev. A. N. Bethune, rector of Cobourg, and chaplain to the Lord Bishop of Quebec. Cobourg: R. D. Chatterton, printer, 1836.

8vo. pp. 32.

BETHUNE, A. N. (*D.D.*) The Clergy Reserve question in Canada. By A. N. Bethune, D. D. Archdeacon of York, diocese of Toronto, Canada. London: Printed by R. Clay, Bread Street Hill, 1853.

8vo. pp. 24.

BETTRIDGE, WILLIAM. A brief history of the Church in Upper Canada: containing the acts of Parliament, Imperial and Provincial; royal instructions; proceedings of the deputation; correspondence with the Government; clergy reserves' question, &c. &c. By William Bettridge, B. D., (St. John's College, Cambridge,) Rector of Woodstock, Upper Canada. [*2l.*] London: Printed and published by W. E. Painter, at the offices of the Church of England Gazette, and Churchman, 342, Strand, and sold by all booksellers. 1838.

8vo. pp. 143, [11.

BIGELOW, ALLEN G. The City of Buffalo, its history and institutions. . . . Buffalo. . . . 1888.

Buffalo Express souvenir issue, Sept., 1888. (Pp. 56, ill.) Gives briefly events of the rebellion in Buffalo and on the Niagara.

BONNEY, (*Mrs.*) CATHARINA V. R. A Legacy of Historical Gleanings, compiled and arranged by Mrs. Catharina V. R. Bonney. . . . In two volumes. Second edition. Albany, N. Y.: J. Munsell, 82 State Street. 1875.

8vo. vol. i, pp. vii[i], 542; vol. ii, pp. vii, 544. *Ill.*

Vol. ii, chap. iv, "Narration of facts connected with the Frontier movements of the Patriot Army of Upper Canada," and chap. v, "The Canadian Patriot Army" (pp. 61-105), relate chiefly to the participation in the rebellion of Rensselaer Van Rensselaer, who was Mrs. Bonney's brother; many letters are given, which passed between Cyrenius Chapin, Renns. Van Rensselaer, his father, Gen. Solomon Van R., and other members of the family; Renns. Van R.'s "Own Notes on his Military Life," relating to his participation in the rebellion, pp. 76-104, interrupted with other documents.

BONNYCASTLE (*Sir*) RICHARD H. *The Canadas in 1841.* London, 1842. 2v.

Chap. xiv, vol. i, devotes several pages to a sketchy, highly rhetorical account of what "the ruffian Mackenzie" and his "vermin" followers did. Sir Richard applauds Head for removing the regular troops and relying solely on the militia—the very act for which calmer writers usually condemn the Lieutenant Governor. "I actually believe there were at one period of the outbreak no fewer than 40,000 militia in the field, throughout the upper province," is one of the characteristic extravagancies of this writer, who was one of the first of the never-ending succession of book-writing tourists to visit the Niagara region after the exploits of Mackenzie had made it more famous than ever before.

BONNYCASTLE (*Sir*) RICHARD H. *Canada, as it was, is, and may be.* By Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Richard H. Bonnycastle, Royal Engineers. With considerable additions, and an account of recent transactions by Sir James Edward Alexander, K. L. S., etc. [*cut*] In two volumes. London. 1852.

8vo. vol i, pp.

Vol. ii, chap. i: The occupation of Navy Island; chaps. ii-v: The invasion and subsequent events.

BOURINOT. (*Sir*) JOHN GEORGE. *Canada During the Victorian Era.* See *Mag. Am. Hist.*, vol. xvii, pp. 414-424. New York, 1887.

BOURINOT, (*Sir*) JOHN GEORGE. *The Story of Canada.* [Story of the Nations series.] New York. 1896.

Chap. xxiv: Political Strife and Rebellion, 1815-1840.

BOURINOT (*Sir*) JOHN G. (*K. C. M. G., etc.*). *Social and economic conditions of the British Provinces after the Canadian Rebellions, 1838-1840.*

See *Trans. Roy. Soc. Can.* 2d ser. vol. vi. [Montreal.] 1900.

[British Constitutional Society.] *Declaration of the views and objects of British Constitutional Society on its re-organization, addressed to their fellow subjects in Upper Canada.* Toronto. 1836.

8vo. pp. 12.

A German ed. of the above, as follows: *Erklärung der Ansichten und Absichten der Britischen Constitutionellen Gesellschaft bei ihrer Wieder-Organization.* Addressirt an ihre Mit-

Unterthanen in Ober Canada. Stadt Berlin—Waterloo—Gore Distrikt, O. C. 1836.

8vo. pp. 11.

British North America. Copies or extracts of correspondence relative to the affairs of British North America. . . . London, 1839.

Folio. *Issued by Government.*

Includes correspondence of Sir George Arthur, Lord Glenelg, etc.

British Policy in Canada, 1838.

Quarterly Review, vol. 64, London, 1839. A severe arraignment of the Government for mismanagement.

BROUGHAM, (*Lord*). [Henry Peter Brougham, *Baron Brougham and Vaux*.] Motion calling for returns as to Canadian prisoners and as to political offenders being treated as convicts in violation of the amnesty. In House of Lords, March 25 and 26, 1839. (Hansard, 3d ser., vol. 46, pp. 1177 and 1218.)

BROUGHAM, (*Lord*). Speech favoring clemency to nine Canadian prisoners who had petitioned the House. June 13, 1839. (Hansard, 3d ser., vol. 48, p. 165.)

BROUGHAM, (*Lord*), and others. [Debate over case of Col. Prince, charged with executing prisoners without trial. Besides Lord Brougham, the Duke of Wellington, the Marquis of Normandy, Lord Ellenborough, and Lord Glenelg spoke.] May 30, 1839. (Hansard, 3d ser., vol. 47, p. 1078.)

BROUGHAM. Lord Brougham's speech on the mal-treatment of the North American Colonies. London, 1838.

8vo. pp. 37.

Reviewed, *Quarterly Review*, vol. 63, London, 1839.

Brougham. *See also*: "Life and Times of Henry, Lord Brougham."

BRYCE, GEORGE (*LL.D.*)

See his "Canada from 1763 to 1867," being chap. iii, in vol. viii, "Narrative and Critical History of America," ed. Justin Winsor, 1889; pp. 151-162; bibliographical memoranda on the rebellions in Upper and Lower Canada (a few works mentioned, with helpful comment), pp. 180-182.

BRYCE, GEORGE (*M.A., LL.D.*). A short history of the Canadian People. . . . London. . . . 1887.

12mo., pp. vii, 528; folding map.

Chap. x considers the Family Compact; ch. xi, "The Rebellion and the New Constitution."

BRYMNER, DOUGLAS (*Archivist*). Report on Canadian Archives. 1901. Ottawa, 1902.

Contains a calendar of state papers for Lower and Upper Canada, including, of the latter, correspondence of Lieut.-Govs. Sir J. Colborne and Sir F. B. Head, 1836; drafts of dispatches to Head, 1836; and miscellaneous papers bearing on the discon-

tent in the Upper Province, and causes leading up to the rebellion. Among them are characteristic letters of Mackenzie.

BUCHANAN, ISAAC. The real state of things in Canada: explained in a few rough sketches on financial and other vital matters in both the Canadas. By Isaac Buchanan, whose primary object was simply to throw light on the question of specie suspension. To which are prefixed two articles formerly written by him on the Clergy Reserves. [*quot. 2 l.*] Toronto: Printed for the author. 1837.

8vo. pp. 8, 55.

Dedicated to Sir F. B. Head. The Clergy Reserves papers were first printed in the *Toronto Albion*.

BUCKINGHAM, JAMES S. Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and the Other British Provinces in North America, with a plan of national colonization. . . . [1843.]

Chap. iv devotes a few pages to a statement of facts connected with the rebellion; Sir Francis Head is criticized for not better protecting Toronto. The "Supplementary Chapter," pp. 489-513, treats of Charles Buller's presentation of colonial colonization, that work being practically a sequel to Lord Durham's report, and, in its political aspect, referable to the agitation of '37-'38. There are minor allusions to the rebellion in Buckingham, but little to reward the special inquirer in that subject.

BULLER, CHARLES.

Reputed author of Lord Durham's "Report on the Affairs of British North America" (London, 1839). *See* Durham.

BURY (*Viscount*). [W. C. Keppel.] Exodus of the western nations. . . . London, 1865.

Vol. ii, chap. 12, treats of the Rebellion losses bill.

CALLAHAN, JAMES MORTON (*Ph.D.*). The Neutrality of the American Lakes and Anglo-American Relations. . . . (Johns Hopkins Univ. Studies, ser. 16, Nos. 1-4.) Baltimore, 1898.

8vo. pp. 199.

Chap. v, "The Canadian Rebellion and Boundary Questions," sketches the main incidents of the rebellion, and traces the effect of the outbreak upon international proceedings in relation to armaments on the Lakes; numerous references to U. S. Govt. and other publications, especially contemporary newspapers, are helpful to the student bent on further research.

CANADIAN (A). *See* Rev. A. E. Ryerson.

Canadian Archives. *See* Douglas Brynmner (*Archivist*).

Canadian (The) Controversy, its Origin, Nature and Merits. . . . London, 1838.

Canadian (The) Crisis and Lord Durham's mission to the North American Colonies, with remarks, the result of personal observation, etc. London, 1838.

8vo. pp. 56.

Reviewed, *Quarterly Review*, vol. 63. London, 1839.

Canadian (The) Portfolio. See John Arthur Roebuck.

CANNIFF, WILLIAM (M. D.). The Rebellion of 1837 in Upper Canada.

Pp. 19-36, vol. iii, "Canada, an Encyclopaedia of the Country," edited by J. Castell Hopkins, Toronto, 1898.

Caroline Almanack. See William Lyon Mackenzie.

Caroline, burning of the.

[Orr, John W.?] Pictorial Guide to the Falls of Niagara.
. . . Buffalo: Press of Salisbury and Clapp. 1842.

16mo. pp. xiv, 15-232.

The work was copyrighted by John W. Orr, who designed and engraved the illustrations. He may have written it. Part iii, chap. 4, tells the story of the seizure and burning of the Caroline; on p. 215 is an engraving of the steamer; as it was made within five years of the Navy Island episode, it is presumably a fairly true picture of the vessel.

See also, Documents, U. S.' Senate and H. Rep.

Caroline, The case of. See:

Winsor's Narrative and Critical History of America, vol. vii, p. 494, note; for report of the case, Wendell, xxv, 483; for review of the decision by Judge Tallmadge, Wendell, xxvi, 663, app.; Calhoun's Works, iii, 618; U. S. Revised Statutes, sec. 752-754; Webster's Works, vi, 292-303.

CHAMPION, THOMAS EDWARD. History of the 10th Royals and of the Royal Grenadiers from the formation of the regiment until 1896. By Thomas Edward Champion. Toronto: 1896.

CHATHAM. [*pseud.*] [The rebellion, and union of the provinces.]
n. p.

8vo. pp. 8.

[CHISHOLME, DAVID.] [*Half-title:*] Annals of Canada for 1837 and 1838. *n. p. n. d.* [Montreal, 1849?]

8vo. pp. 156?

First printed anonymously in the *Montreal Gazette*. See letter regarding its authorship, in *Montreal Gazette*, Aug. . . . 1895, which indicates 1849 as the year when the printing of the book was begun. Not mentioned by Gagnon (who does give C's "Observations on the rights of the British colonies to representation in the Imperial Parliament," etc., Three-Rivers, 1832), nor by Sabin or any other bibliographer whose work I have consulted. The only copy seen is an incomplete volume in the Toronto Public Library. Mr. James Bain, Jr., librarian of that institution, is of opinion that the printing of the work was never completed, the Toronto copy being inferred to be the gathered sheets as far as the work was carried. It is obviously one of the greatest rarities of all the literature relating to the Niagara region. The narrative is well written, the story of the Navy Island campaign, the cutting out of the Caroline, etc., being given with considerable fullness.

Claims for losses. Documents relating to claims for losses, &c., transmitted by His Excellency the Lieutenant Governor. . . . Toronto, 1840.

Appendix to Journal, House of Assembly, U. C., vol. ii, part 2d, pp. 651-696.

Includes data of expense of transportation to Van Diemen's Land.

CLEMENT, W. H. P. (*B. A., LL.B.*) The history of the Dominion of Canada. . . . Toronto. . . . 1897.

12mo. pp. viii, 350, cuts and maps.

Chap. xxxiii, Upper Canada, 1815-1837; chap. xxxvii, Outbreaks in Canada.

Clergy Reserves. An act to provide for the sale of the Clergy Reserves in the Province of Canada, and for the distribution of the proceeds thereof. . . . Toronto: H. & W. Rowsell, Diocesan Press. 1842.

8vo. pp. 19.

Clergy Reserves. An apology for the Church of England in the Canadas, in answer to a letter to the Earl of Liverpool, relative to the rights of the Church of Scotland &c., by a Protestant of the Church of Scotland. By a Protestant of the Established Church of England. [*quot. 2 l.*] Kingston: Printed by James Macfarlane. 1826.

8vo. pp. 22.

Clergy Reserves. By-Laws, of the corporation, for superintending, managing and conducting the Clergy Reserves, in Upper Canada. York: Printed by Robert Stanton. 1831.

8vo. pp. 11.

Clergy Reserves. The Clergy Reserves. A letter from the Lord Bishop of Toronto to the Duke of Newcastle, Her Majesty's Secretary for the colonies. Toronto: Printed at the "Churchman" office, corner of King and Nelson streets. MDCCCLIII.

8vo. pp. 27.

Clergy Reserves. Report of a public discussion at Simcoe, on Wednesday and Thursday, July 16 and 17, 1851, on the Clergy Reserves and Rectories. Published at Simcoe, N. Co. C. W. 1851.

8vo. pp. 119.

Clergy Reserves, Report of a select committee on, . . . Toronto, 1840.

Appendix to Journal, House of Assembly, U. C., vol. ii, part 2d, pp. 737-739.

Clergy Reserves. Report of select committee on Report of Committee of the Whole on the Clergy Reserves. . . . Toronto, 1840.

Appendix to Journal, House of Assembly, U. C., vol. ii, part 2d, pp. 794-795.

Clergy Reserves. The Reserve question, or a word for the church,

by one of its clergy. [quot. 2 l.] Printed for the author, 1837.
8vo. pp. 19.

Clergy Reserves. *See* Journals, House of Assembly, U. C.; Legislative Council, U. C.

Clergy Reserves. *See also* James Beaven, J. C. Dent, Earl of Durham, Lord Ellenborough, Wm. Kirby, Chas. Lindsey, Lord Sydenham.

Clergy Reserves Distribution. *See* Journal, House of Assembly, U. C., session 1839-40, pp. 155, 159, 164, 168.

Clergy Reserves Sale bill. *See* Journal, House of Assembly, U. C., session 1839-40, pp. 21, 32, 36, 39, 43.

COLLINS, EDMUND. *See* Sir John A. Macdonald.

COLONIST (A) [*pseud.*] A reply to the report of the Earl of Durham. By a Colonist. [quot. 2 l.] London: Richard Bentley, New Burlington Street. Publisher in ordinary to Her Majesty. 1839.

8vo. pp. 91.

CONANT, THOMAS. Upper Canada Sketches. By Thomas Conant. With illustrations, portraits and map. Toronto: William Briggs, 29-33 Richmond St. West. 1898.

8vo. pp. 243. Lithographed plates (21) in colors, 5 portraits, map of Ontario east of L. Huron, in tint.

Chap. vi gives a graphic account of the perilous flight across Lake Ontario in the winter of '37-8 of some 40 "patriots" and Canadian sympathizers, in the schooner *Industry*, belonging to the author's father; with other episodes of the "war."

Copies of Extracts of Correspondence relative to the affairs of Lower Canada, Upper Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 10th January. London, 1838.

Reviewed, *London and Westminster Review*, vol. 6 and 28, London, 1837-8.

CROSS, D. W. The Canadian Rebellion of 1837. *Mag. West. Hist.* Cleveland, O., 1888.

Vol. viii, pp. 359-370, 521-529.

Mr. Cross was deputy U. S. Collector at Cleveland during the Canadian rebellion, was "on the inside" of events, and kept a journal of all that passed under his observation. His articles are not particularly discriminating (*e. g.* he speaks of the Caroline being sent "with her dead and wounded over Niagara," etc.), but are valuable for details of operations at the west end of Lake Erie, and particularly for the organization and work of the "Hunters' Lodges."

[CRUIKSHANK. (*Lt. Col.*) ERNEST.] A historical and descriptive sketch of the County of Welland in the Province of Ontario, in

the Dominion of Canada. . . . Published by authority of the County Council. Welland: [Ont.] . . . 1886.

8vo. pp. 73.

Pp. 25-31 give a clear, compact statement of the causes of the rebellion, and its principal events.

CRUIKSHANK, (*Lt. Col.*) ERNEST. Some papers of an early settler. The rebellion of '37.

See the *Welland (Ont.) Tribune*, 1891. A series of article in which were first published many letters of historical value, mostly written to James Cummings of Chippewa, Ont., in the early years of the 19th century; among them contemporary letters relating to the Upper Canada Rebellion, by Ch. A. Hagerman, Dr. Josiah Trowbridge, Mayor of Buffalo, Col. Allan N. McNab, Hon. W. H. Draper, Chief Justice John Macaulay, Sheriff Alexander Hamilton and others.

[DARLING, (*Rev.*) W. STEWART.] Sketches of Canadian Life, lay and ecclesiastical, illustrative of Canada and the Canadian church. By a Presbyterian of the Diocese of Canada. London: David Bogue, Fleet Street. 1849.

8vo. pp. iv, 310.

DAVIN, NICHOLAS FLOOD. The Irishman in Canada. London and Toronto, 1887.

8vo. pp. xvi, 692.

Ch. 9-12, "The Rise of Responsible Government in Canada," show the relation of Mackenzie's agitation to other influences which combined to overthrow the old state of things and bring about responsible government for a united Canada. Traces the political evolution of which Mackenzie's rebellion was a part; but gives no details of the occurrences of that abortive uprising.

For a review of "The Irishman in Canada," see *The Canadian Monthly*, vol. xii, pp. 660-62. (1877.)

DAVIS, ROBERT. The Canadian Farmer's Travels in the United States of America, in which remarks are made on the arbitrary Colonial Policy practiced in Canada, and the free and equal rights, and happy effect, of the liberal institutions and astonishing enterprise of the United States. Buffalo [Steele's Press: Printed for the author], 1837.

8vo. pp. 108.

DE BLAQUIERE, (*Hon.*) F. B. Copies of letters, &c., read in the Legislative Council, in the debate upon the Clergy Reserves bill, Jan. 17, 1840: by the Hon. F. B. De Blaquiere. Toronto: Printed by R. Stanton, 164, King-street, MDCCCXL.

8vo. pp. 30.

DENISON (*Capt.*) FREDERICK C. Historical Record of the Governor-General's Body Guard, and its standing orders. . . . Toronto, 1876.

8vo. pp. 87.

Chap. ii describes the service of the West York Militia (afterwards Governor General's Body Guard) during 1837-'38.

DENISON (*Lt. Col.*) GEORGE T. *Soldiering in Canada. Recollections and Experiences.* . . . Toronto, 1900.

Chap. ii, "The Rebellion of 1837," tells of the organization of the West York Cavalry (nucleus of the present regiment, the Governor General's Body Guard), and its service during the rebellion; the disturbances near Toronto, and the affair of the *Caroline*.

DENT, JOHN CHARLES. [*Engraved title:*] The story of the Upper Canadian Rebellion. By John Charles Dent, author of "The Last Forty Years," &c. [*Vignettes:* Vol. i, "Escape of Mr. Powell"; vol. ii, "The Cutting out of the *Caroline*."] Toronto. Published by C. Blackett Robinson. 1885.

[*Type title:*] The story of the Upper Canadian Rebellion; largely derived from original sources and documents. By John Charles Dent, author of "The Last Forty Years," etc. [*Quotations, 10 l.*] Toronto: C. Blackett Robinson, 5 Jordan Street. 1885.

Vol. i, pp. 384, front. port. John Rolph; port. David Gibson, op. p. 279; vol. ii, pp. 382, front. port. W. L. Mackenzie, 3 other ills.

An exceedingly disputatious work, its object to vindicate Dr. Rolph at the expense of Mackenzie; its accuracy sometimes sacrificed for sake of picturesque narrative; the most readable but not the most trustworthy history of the rebellion.

DENT, JOHN CHARLES. *The Last Forty Years. Canada since the Union of 1841.* Toronto, 1881.

2 vols.

In vol. i, chap. i, "Lord Durham," properly belongs to our subject (op. p. 16 an engraving, "Destruction of the *Caroline*"), as do chap. iv, "The First Ministry," and chap. viii, "The Case of Alexander McLeod." Op. p. 83, port. W. L. Mackenzie.

DE VEAUX, S. *The Falls of Niagara, or tourist's guide to this wonder of nature.* . . . By S. De Veaux. Buffalo: William B. Hayden. Press of Thomas & Co. 1839.

16mo., pp. viii, 168, [1]; map and ills.

Pp. 77-79, "The expedition to Navy Island, and steamboat *Caroline*." Woodcut, "Burning of the steamboat *Caroline*," opp. p. [47].

Documents, U. S. Senate and House of Representatives.

Burning of steamboat Caroline. See:

25th Cong., 2d session, House docs. vol. 3, No. 73, containing President Van Buren's message of Jan. 8, 1838, on the disturbance on the northern frontier, with related docs.; Sec'y Poinsett to Gov. Marcy of N. Y. and Gov. Jennison of Vermont; Poinsett to Gen. Scott, ordering him to the frontier; Sec'y Forsyth to British Minister Fox, etc.

25th C., 2d sess., H, vol. 9, No. 302: 63 pages of correspondence and affidavits relative to destruction of the Caroline; information called for by resolution of the House, Mar. 21, 1838; statement of claims for losses, etc.; with a long report from Lt. Gov. Head to Henry S. Fox, British Minister at Washington, dated Toronto, Jan. 8, 1838.

25th C., 3d sess., H, vol. 4, No. 183: Correspondence between A. Stevenson, U. S. Minister in London, and Lord Palmerston, Sec'y of State for Foreign Affairs, relating to the outrage by British troops, with an analysis of the principles involved in the contest between Great Britain and the Canadas.

26th C., 2d sess., H, vol. 2, No. 33: Correspondence between the Secretary of State and the British Minister, in the Caroline matter.

26th C., 2d sess., H, *reports*, No. 162.

27th C., 2d sess., H, vol. 3, No. 128.

27th C., 3d sess., Senate, vol. 3, No. 99.

Frontier disturbances, American citizens' participation in, 1838.
See:

25th C., 2d sess., H, vol. 2, No. 64: Message from President Van Buren to Senate and House, Jan. 5, '38, transmitting letter from N. Garrow, U. S. Marshal, Northern Dist., dated Buffalo, Dec. 28, '37.

25th C., 2d sess., H, vol. 3, No. 74: Correspondence, Fox to Forsyth; Lt. Gov. Head to Fox, dated Government House, Toronto, Dec. 23, 1837: "The peace and security of this Province are at this moment threatened, and its territory is actually invaded, by a large band of American citizens from Buffalo," etc.; an interesting recital. Other docs. include letters from Buffalo's mayor, J. Trowbridge, to Millard Fillmore, then Representative, and to President Van Buren; Pierre A. Barker, Collector at Buffalo, to N. S. Benton, U. S. Atty.; W. K. Scott to Fillmore; Seymour Scoville, Collector at Lewiston, to Benton; Levi Woodbury, Secy. of the Treasury, to Daniel Dobbins, commanding the U. S. revenue cutter Erie; etc., etc.; showing the strenuous efforts made by U. S. officers to enforce the laws and prevent offense against Canada.

25th C., 3d sess., H, vol. 4, No. 181: A collection of correspondence of great value to the historian of this subject. Among the docs. are letters from Sec'y of War Poinsett; Maj. Gen. Macomb to Sir John Colborne, and Com. Sandon, commanding British naval forces on the Lakes, one letter dated Buffalo, Sept. 16, 1838; also Gen. Scott's famous communication to Col. Hughes, commanding British troops, dated Buffalo, Jan. 15, 1838; another, "Headquarters, Eastern Div. U. S. army, 2 miles below Black Rock, Jan. 15, 1838," to the officer in command of British vessels on the Niagara; numerous other letters from Scott; Brig. Gen. John E. Wool, Champlain; W. J. Worth, Lt. Col. com'ndg, Buffalo, Feb. 24, 1838; Lt. Gov. George Arthur (U. Can.) to Gen. H. Brady, regarding Hunters' Lodges, etc.; W. H. Draper to Lt. Col. J. M. Struchem, dated Hamilton, U. C., Mch. 11, 1838;

and account of the court of inquiry at Fort Erie rapids, Feb. 17, 1838.

25th C., 2d sess., H., vol. 5, No. 89: Sec'y of War Poinsett's estimates (Jan. 10, 1838) for defence of northern frontier; he thought \$625,500 would be needed.

25th C., 3d sess., H., vol. 2, No. 27: Transmits letter from Scott to the Sec'y of War asking for \$12,000 or \$20,000 for secret service use: "It twice happened last winter that British officers sent over to me persons who had important intelligence to communicate relative to the movements of 'patriots' within our limits, and for which I had neither the authority or the means to pay," etc.

Sir Robert Peel, British steamboat, outrages committed on, 1838.

25th C., 2d sess., Sen., vol. 11, No. 440.

Telegraph, American steamboat, outrages committed on, 1838.

25th C., 2d sess., Sen., vol. 11, No. 440.

Van Diemen's Land, American citizens prisoners in.

27th C., 1st sess., H., docs. and reports, No. 39.

DRAPER, WILLIAM HENRY. [Letters on the rebellion in the Upper Province.] See Lt. Col. Ernest Cruikshank.

In 1838 Mr. Draper became solicitor general of Upper Canada, and later, attorney general. He was not in favor of many of the reforms introduced into the system of government of the British-American colonies subsequent to the rebellion of 1837-'8. In 1863, he became chief justice of Upper Canada.

DREW [ANDREW] (*Rear Admiral*). A narrative of the capture and destruction of the steamer 'Caroline' and her descent over the Falls of Niagara on the night of the 29th of December, 1837. With a correspondence. [For private circulation.] London, 1864. 8vo. pp. 31.

DUNCANNON (*Viscount*). [John William Ponsonby.] Motion that papers relating to the Clergy Reserves be laid before the House. In House of Lords, Mch. 31, 1840. (Hansard, 3d ser., v. 53, p. 261.)

The Bishop of Exeter spoke at length in support of Duncannon's motion, and a hot debate ensued, in which Viscount Melbourne, several prelates, the Duke of Wellington, Lord Ellenborough and others took part.

DURAND, CHARLES. *Reminiscences of Charles Durand of Toronto, Barrister.* Toronto: The Hunter, Rose Co., Ltd., Printers and Bookbinders. 1897.

12mo. pp. xii, 534 [1]. Ports.

2d ed. the same with Addenda, pp. 537-663.

Chaps. x-xiii relate in large part to the rebellion. The author (still living in Toronto), a Reformer, but disclaiming affiliation with the rebels, was arrested Dec. 7, 1837, imprisoned five months; tried May 8, 1838; finally released Aug. 14, 1838, and banished

from Canada for six years. He brought his family to Buffalo, where he resided for a year and a half, going thence to Chicago. In chap. xxii he relates incidents of the Navy Island affair, Hunters' Lodges, etc. A rambling, disjointed narrative, a marvel of bad arrangement and ineffective use of good material.

DURHAM (*Earl*). [John George Lambton.] Report on the affairs of British North America, from the Earl of Durham, Her Majesty's High Commissioner, &c., &c., &c. (Presented by Her Majesty's command.) Ordered, by the House of Commons, to be printed, 11 February, 1839.

Folio, pp. iv, 119 [1]; appendix (A) (title page repeated): misc. docs., letters, addresses, etc., pp. [2], 62 [2]. Appendix (B) (title page repeated: "ordered printed 5 March 1839"); commission by the Earl of Durham appointing Charles Buller to make inquiries regarding Crown lands in Lower Canada, pp. 4; report on public lands and immigration in Lower and Upper Canada, and other provinces, by Charles Buller, pp. 40; minutes of evidence, pp. 218. Appendix (C) (title page repeated: "ordered . . . printed 27 March, 1839"): reports of commissioners on municipal institutions of Lower Canada, pp. 60. Appendix (D) and (E) (title page repeated: "ordered printed 12 June 1839"): relating to lower Canada, pp. iv, 214.

Of the many editions of this, the most important government publication relating to our subject, this is in all ways the best. The voluminous appendices, bearing in part upon our region, are omitted from the reprints.

Although the Report bears Durham's name, it was charged at the time that he had never read it, much less written it. Its actual author was Charles Buller. Two paragraphs on the church lands were written by Edward Gibbon Wakefield and Richard Davies Hanson.

DURHAM. The report and dispatches of the Earl of Durham, Her Majesty's High Commissioner and Governor-General of British North America. London: Ridgways, Piccadilly. MDCCCXXXIX.

8vo. pp. xvi, 423.

A new ed. London: Methuen, 1901.

DURHAM. Report on the affairs of British North America from the Earl of Durham, Her Majesty's High Commissioner, &c. &c. &c. (officially communicated to both Houses of the Imperial Parliament, on the 11th of February, 1839). Montreal: Printed at the Morning Courier office, St. François Xavier Street, 1839.

8vo. pp. 126 [1].

DURHAM. Report on the affairs of British North America from the Earl of Durham, Her Majesty's High Commissioner, &c. &c. &c. Officially communicated to both Houses of the Imperial Parliament on the 11th of February, 1839. Toronto. Printed at the Examiner office, 1839.

8vo. pp 48.

DURHAM. Report on the affairs of British North America, from the Earl of Durham, Her Majesty's High Commissioner, &c. &c. &c. Toronto: Printed by Robert Stanton. MDCCCXXXIX.

8vo. pp. 142, iv.

The last 4 pp. (table of contents) sometimes bound in front, sometimes at the back. An ed. seldom met with.

DURHAM. Correspondence between Her Majesty's principal Secretary of State for the Colonies and the Earl of Durham, on the subject of the latter's resignation of the office of Governor General of British North America and High Commissioner in the Canadian provinces. Transmitted to Sir George Arthur. By order of the House of Assembly. Toronto. W. J. Coates, printer. [1839.]

DURHAM. Debate on the reception and premature publication of his report as Governor General of the North American provinces. In House of Lords, Feb. 8 and 11, 1839. (Hansard, 3d ser., vol. 45, pp. 192 and 206.)

DURHAM. *See also* Head and Durham.

Durham. Report from the select committee of the Legislative Council of Upper Canada, on the report of the Rt. Honourable the Earl of Durham, Her Majesty's late governor-in-chief of British North America. Printed by order of the honourable the Legislative Council. R. Stanton, printer to the Queen's most excellent Majesty. MDCCCXXXIX.

8vo. pp. 25.

It pointedly discusses the causes of the rebellion. "The proximity of the American frontier—the wild and chimerical notions of civil government broached and discussed there—the introduction of a very great number of border Americans into this province, as settlers who, with some most respectable and worthy exceptions, formed the bulk of the reformers, who carried these opinions so far as disaffection—together with the existence of actual rebellion—emboldened a portion of the minority to rise in rebellion in this province, in the hope of achieving the overthrow of the government with foreign assistance."—Pp. 21-22. J. S. Macaulay was chairman of the committee making the report.

Durham. *See* Annual Register, 1838, chron. pp. 311-17; Parl. Papers, 1837-8, xxxix; 1839, xvii, 5-119. Parl. Debates, 3d ser., vol. xlv.

Durham. *See also* J. C. Dent, Sir F. B. Head, Sir Francis Hincks, Wm. Kingsford, Charles Lindsey, Goldwin Smith, Lord Sydenham.

[ELLIOT, T. F.?] The Canadian Controversy: its origin, nature, and merits. [quot. 81.] London: Printed for Longman, Orme, Brown, Green & Longman. Paternoster-Row. 1838.

8vo. pp. 84.

Attributed to T. F. Elliot, Assistant Secretary of State for the Colonies. Of distinct value; it sketches the history of Canada

from the Conquest to the Grievances of 1828, with a review of subsequent events; it points out inaccuracies in Roebuck's *Portfolio*.

ELLENBOROUGH, (*Lord*) [Edward Law, 2d baron E.] *and others*. Further debate on action of the Judges on the Clergy Reserves question. April 10, 1840. (Hansard, 3d ser., v. 53, p. 957.)

The Clergy Reserves bill passed the House of Lords on third and final reading August 6, 1840. (Hansard, 3d ser., v. 55, p. 1357.) The royal assent was given August 7, 1840. (Hansard, 3d ser., v. 55, p. 1378.) The bill for the union of the two Canadas passed the House of Lords on the third and final reading July 13, 1840. The Duke of Wellington and Lord Ellenborough presented long and strong protests which were ordered to be entered in the Journal. (Hansard, 3d ser., v. 55, p. 662.) The royal assent was given July 23, 1840. (Hansard, 3d ser., v. 55, p. 903.)

ENGLISH (AN) FARMER. [*pseud.*] British Freedom. By an English Farmer: a member of the Church of England: an advocate for civil and religious liberty: and a lover of good government: whose father was a high churchman. Printed for and published by the author. York, Upper Canada. Colonial Advocate Press. J. Baxter, printer, 1832.

8vo. pp. 23.

Erie County, N. Y. See Crisfield Johnson; H. Perry Smith (*ed.*); Truman C. White (*ed.*).

EXETER, (*Bishop of*). [Henry Phillpotts.] Speech in support of motion to submit questions relating to the Clergy Reserves to the Judges. In House of Lords, April, 7, 1840. (Hansard, 3d ser., v. 53, p. 626.)

The long debate is given; motion was carried.

Family Compact (The). See George Bryce, John C. Dent, Earl of Durham, Rev. Wm. P. Greswell, J. N. Larned (*ed.*), John MacMullen, Goldwin Smith.

FITZGIBBON, [JAMES]. Documents, selected from several others, showing the services rendered by Colonel FitzGibbon, while serving in Upper Canada, between the years 1812 and 1837. Windsor: Printed by W. Whittington, Peascod Street, 1859.

8vo. pp. 15.

Addressed to Lord Stanley by Augustus D'Este. Undertakes to show that Col. FitzGibbon saved Upper Canada from falling into the hands of the rebels.

FITZGIBBON, JAMES. An appeal to the People of Upper Canada. . . . 1847.

Not seen; cited by Mary Agnes FitzGibbon in "A Veteran of 1812," p. 186: "FitzGibbon wrote several accounts of the outbreak of the rebellion in Upper Canada, and of Mackenzie's intended (attempted) attack on Toronto in December, 1837. 'An Appeal to the People of Upper Canada,' published in 1847, is

perhaps the most exhaustive as regards his own share in the defence of the city. The 'Appeal' was written after successive events had robbed him of the reward voted to him by the unanimous voice of the House of Assembly."

FITZGIBBON, JAMES. *A Veteran of 1812. The life of James FitzGibbon.* By Mary Agnes FitzGibbon. Toronto. . . . MDCCCXCIV.

12mo. pp. viii, 9-347, [1]. Ill. and 2 fac-simile letters.

Pp. 159-257 relate principally to the rebellion and FitzGibbon's loyal activity during that period.

FITZGIBBON, MARY AGNES. *See* James FitzGibbon.

FOTHERGILL, CHARLES. [Pamphlet, 1838.]

Not seen. Cited in Chas. Lindsey's "Life and Times of Wm. Lyon Mackenzie," vol. ii, p. 59.

FREEHOLDER. [*pseud.*] "Should Lord Durham be impeached?" The question considered in an appeal to the electors of the House of Commons. By a Freeholder. London: Printed for Sherwood, Gilbert & Piper, Paternoster Row, 1839.

8vo. pp. 28.

FRY, ALFRED A. Report of the case of the Canadian prisoners; with an introduction on the writ of habeas corpus. By Alfred A. Fry, Esq., of Lincoln's Inn, one of the counsel in the case. London: A. Maxwell, 32, Bell Yard, Lincoln's Inn, law bookseller to His Late Majesty. And Milliken and Son, Dublin. MDCCCXXXIX.

8vo. pp. vi, 106.

On Dec. 17, 1838, twelve prisoners were taken (with others) to Liverpool, charged in execution of a sentence of transportation to Van Diemen's Land, for having been concerned in the Canadian revolt. Among these was Linus W. Miller of Fredonia. The constitutional features of the cases are presented at length.

GARNEAU, F. X. (*Andrew Bell, trans.*) History of Canada from the time of its discovery till the Union year 1840-41. . . . Montreal. . . . [2d ed.] 1862.

2 vols., 8vo; vol. i, pp. xviii, 556, map and front.; vol. ii, pp. xiv, 499.

Treats fully of the rebellion in Lower Canada, meagerly of that in the upper province.

GATES, WILLIAM. Recollections of life in Van Dieman's Land; by William Gates: one of the Canadian Patriots. [*motto, 2 l.*] Lockport: D. S. Crandall, printer; office of the Lockport *Daily Courier*. 1850.

16mo. pp. 231.

See fac-simile of title-page herewith.

Gates joined a Hunters' Lodge at Cape Vincent in November, '37, was taken prisoner on the St. Lawrence after the battle of the Windmill, near Prescott, was sentenced to exile and sent out to Van Diemen's Land in the prison-ship Buffalo. He gives a

RECOLLECTIONS

OF

L I F E

IN

VAN DIEMAN'S LAND:

BY WILLIAM GATES:

ONE OF THE CANADIAN PATRIOTS.

"A good man commendeth his cause to the one great Patron of innocence, convinced of justice at the last, and sure of good meanwhile.

LOOKPORT:

D. S. CRANDALL, PRINTER;
OFFICE OF THE LOOKPORT DAILY COURIER.

....
1850.

vivid account of his life in the island, as convict, ticket-of-leave man and farm overseer, receiving his pardon in Sept. 1845. He arrived home in 1848—having worked for a time in Australia—and after a visit at Cape Vincent came to Wilson, Niagara Co., where his sister lived, and where he appears to have written his book, the preface of which is dated Wilson, N. Y., April, 1850. His narrative much resembles that of Robert Marsh (*q. v.*) in its detail of life in Van Dieman's Land.

GLENELG, (*Lord*) [Charles Grant]. Reply to Lord Ripon's parliamentary inquiry of same date. In House of Lords, Jan. 16, 1838. (Hansard, 3d ser., vol. 40, p. 7.) Same subject, Jan. 18, 1838. (Same vol. p. 162.)

GLENELG. A despatch from the Right Honorable Lord Glenelg, His Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies, to His Excellency Sir Francis Bond Head, Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada, containing His Majesty's answer to the separate addresses and representations which proceeded from the Legislative Council and House of Assembly during the first session of the present Parliament; and his instructions to the Lieutenant Governor communicated to the House of Assembly by message on the 30th of January, 1836. Ordered by the House of Assembly to be printed. Toronto: M. Reynolds, 1836.

8vo. pp. 36.

GLENELG. Lord Glenelg's Despatches to Sir F. B. Head, Bart. During his administration of the government of Upper Canada. Abstracted from the papers laid before Parliament. London: James Ridgway and Sons, Piccadilly, 1839.

8vo. pp. iv, 193. [1, advts. 4.]

Covers the period Dec. 5, 1835, to July 29, 1837; treats of the Executive Council, petitions, removals from office, Clergy Reserves, the insurrectionary movement, loyalty of the militia, etc. An authoritative and valuable source of information on the problems involved in the rebellion.

GRANT, GEORGE MUNRO. The Dominion of Canada.

Scribner's Monthly, vol. xx. 1880.

In the June No., pp. 244-245, the rebellion is touched upon, as incidental to the political history of Canada.

GRESWELL (*Rev.*) WILLIAM PARR. History of the Dominion of Canada. . . . Oxford. . . . 1890.

12mo. pp. xxxi, 339, maps.

Chap. xvi, Events 1814-1837, the Papineau revolt; chap. xvii, Lord Durham's Report; p. 171, the Clergy Reserves grievances—a very clear statement.

GREY [CHARLES] (*Earl*). The colonial policy of Lord John Russell's administration. . . . 2d ed., with additions. London. . . . 1853.

In the form of a series of letters to Lord John Russell, by the Secretary of State for the Colonial Department. Vol. i, letter v, pp. 200-273, treats of the political changes arising from the Rebellion, the Clergy Reserves, the Act of Union, etc.

GREY, (Sir) CHARLES EDWARD. Speech opposing union of the two Canadas. July 11, 1839. (Hansard, 3d ser., v. 49, p. 157.)

Sir Robert Peel, Lord John Russell, and others also spoke at length, the general subject being the pending bill for the government of Lower Canada. The bill passed July 18, 1839, by 100 majority.

HADDOCK, JOHN A. A Souvenir. The Thousand Islands of the St. Lawrence River from Kingston and Cape Vincent to Morristown and Brockville, with their recorded history from the earliest times. . . . Published by Jno. A. Haddock, of Watertown, N. Y., . . . Alexandria Bay, N. Y. 1895.

4to, 11 and maps, pp. 416.

Burning of the steamer Sir Robert Peel, and battle of the Windmill, p. 14; "The 'Patriot' War," pp. 156-163 (reprint from Haddock's "History of Jefferson County, N. Y.")

HALIBURTON, T[OMAS] C[HANDLER]. (*Sam Slick, pseud.*) The Bubbles of Canada. . . . London. . . . 1839.
. . . London. . . . 1839.

8vo. pp. [vi], 332.

[HALIBURTON, T. C.] Rule and Misrule of the English in America. Halifax, 1843.

2 vols.

An ed. N. Y., 1851.

Treats briefly of the rebellion in its political aspect only.

HALIBURTON, T. C. Reply to the report of the Earl of Durham. . . . Halifax, 1839.

Hansard's Parliamentary Debates. See Speeches and Debates, British Parliament.

Harper's Encyclopaedia of United States History, New York, 1902.
1902.

Article "Canada," in vol. ii, pp. 47-48.

HARVARD (Rev.) W. M. Remarks and suggestions, respectfully offered, on that portion of the Clergy Reserve property, (landed and funded,) of Upper Canada "not specifically appropriated to any particular church." In a letter addressed to His Excellency Sir George Arthur, K. C. B., Governor and commander-in-chief, &c., &c., &c. By the Rev. W. M. Harvard, late president of the Wesleyan-Methodist Church, in Upper Canada. Quebec: Printed and sold by William Neilson, *Gazette* office . . . 1838.

8vo. pp. 45.

HEAD, (Sir) FRANCIS BOND (*Bart.*). An address to the House of Lords, against the bill before Parliament for the union of the Canadas; and disclosing the improper means by which the consent of the Legislature of the upper province has been obtained to the measure. By Sir Francis Bond Head, Bart. [1 l.] London: John Murray, Albemarle Street. 1840.

8vo. pp. [2], 52.

HEAD, (Sir) FRANCIS B[OND] (Bart.). *The Emigrant*. By Sir Francis B. Head, Bart. [*motto*, 2 l.] Fifth edition. London: John Murray, Albemarle Street. 1847.

12mo. pp. 441.

3d London ed. 1846.

For an admiring review of "The Emigrant" see the *Quarterly Review*, vol. 78 (London, 1846): "From this the Macaulay of another day will draw the minute circumstances which preserve the very form and image of the past." In a very different vein is the paper in the *Edinburgh Review*, vol. 85 (1847) in which "The Emigrant" is reviewed at length: "Sir Francis does not omit to direct our attention to what he regards as the great deeds of his colonial administration. The first part of this heroic poem tells the defense of Toronto against Mackenzie; an episode is the driving Mr. Bidwell out of the province. The second part contains the war of Navy Island, and the destruction of the Caroline. The third is the Odyssey of Head—his return home through countless perils in the United States," etc. [p. 365.] The writer of the review gives a version of events as given to him by T. J. Sutherland.

HEAD (Sir) FRANCIS B. (Bart.) *A Narrative*. By Sir Francis B. Head, Bart. [*motto*, 2 l.] London: John Murray, Albemarle Street. MDCCCXXXIX.

Second ed.: 8vo. pp. viii, 488, [appendix A and B:] 38.

Appendix B is a reprint of "Addresses to Sir Francis B. Head, Bart., from the Legislatures of the British North American Colonies," etc., Toronto, 1838. See *Addresses*.

HEAD and DURHAM. [*Inner title*:] *A Narrative*, by Sir Francis Bond Head, Bart. [*quot.* 2 l.] Second edition. London: John Murray, Albemarle Street. Printed by order of the Canadian House of Assembly. Toronto: R. Stanton, 164 King Street. MDCCCXXXIX.

[*Inner title*:] Report on the Affairs of British North America from the Earl of Durham. . . .

App. to Jour. House of Assembly, U. C., Sess. 1839. Vol. i.

Fol. pp. viii, 160; sup. chap. Head's "Narrative" (being preface to the 3d ed.), vi, 19 [1]; appendix A (mem. on above) 6; "Addresses, Toronto, 1838," 18; Durham's Report, 107. [1]; report from the select committee appointed to report on the state of the province, 111-141; contents [3].

The most elaborate and most valuable Canadian publication of Durham's "Report," Head's "Narrative" and related documents. See also F. B. Head.

HEAD, F. B. Communication, from the Honorable the Executive Council to the Lieutenant Governor, with His Excellency's reply. Toronto: R. Stanton, Printer to the King's most excellent Majesty. [1836.]

8vo. pp. 20.

Relates to the duties of the Executive Council, which was one of the chief objects of attack by the reformers.

HEAD, F. B. Message from His Excellency Sir Francis Bond Head, Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada, in answer to the address of the House of Assembly, of the 5th February, 1836, with sundry documents, requested by the House in said address. Ordered by the House of Assembly to be printed. Toronto: M. Reynolds. 1836.

8vo. pp. 42.

HEAD, F. B. Message from his excellency the Lieutenant Governor, of 30th January, 1836: Transmitting a despatch from his majesty's government. Printed by order of the honorable the legislative council. R. Stanton, printer. [1836.]

8vo. pp. 50.

HEAD, F. B. The speeches, messages, and replies of his excellency Sir Francis Bond Head, K. C. H., Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada. Accompanied by an extract from a despatch of his excellency to Lord Glenelg: Together with introductory remarks, and a brief biographical sketch. [*quot. 3 l.*] Toronto, U. C. Henry Rowsell. 1836.

8vo. pp. 72.

Head. Rede seiner Excellenz, Sir Francis Bond Head, Lieutenant Gouverneurs der Provinz Ober Canada; gehalten zu Toronto, den 20sten April, 1836, an den gefezgebenden Körper der besagten Provinz. Stadt Berlin, (Gore Distrikt) Ober Canada: Gedruckt bei H. W. Peterson, 1836.

8vo. pp. 16.

Head. Critical review of Sir Francis Head's Narrative and of Lord Durham's Report, by the *London Quarterly Review*, for April, 1839. Printed at the Patriot office—Toronto—1839.

8vo. pp. 32.

Head. Important debate on the adoption of the report of the select committee on the differences between His Excellency and the late Executive Council; in the House of Assembly, April 18th, 1836. Toronto, U. C. Joseph H. Lawrence, printer, Guardian office. MDCCCXXXVI.

8vo. pp. 63.

Relates in part to the famous case of Forsyth of the Niagara Falls Pavilion.

Head. Proceedings had in the Commons House of Assembly, on the subject of an address to His Excellency Sir F. B. Head, for certain information on the affairs of the colony. Printed by order of the Commons House of Assembly. R. Stanton, printer. [1836.]

Records the proceedings, Feb. 3d, 4th, 5th, consequent on Mackenzie's motion of an address for information on the removal of the late attorney and solicitor general, of the present incumbent of those offices, expulsions, etc.; also gives data in the Forsyth case.

Head, biography of. See "Canada, an Encyclopaedia of the Country," etc. (J. Castell Hopkins, *ed.*), vol. iii, pp. 96-97.

Head and Colonial office. *See Westminster Review*, v. 32, p. 426.

HEADLEY, J. T. *See* Winfield Scott and Andrew Jackson.

HENRY, WALTER. *Events of a Military Life*. . . . London, 1843.
2 vols., 8vo.; vol. i. pp. xii, 301; vol. ii, pp. x, 384.

The greater part of vol. ii is devoted to the troubles in Upper Canada, 1827-'39. The work is really the 2d ed., rewritten and enlarged, of the following scarce and anonymous publication:

[HENRY, WALTER.] *Trifles from my portfolio, or Recollections of scenes and small adventures during twenty-nine years' military service in the Peninsular War . . . and Upper and Lower Canada*. By a staff surgeon. Quebec, 1839.

The author gives a good account of Mackenzie's insurrection, the operations on Navy Island and the burning of the *Caroline*.

[HEUSTIS (Capt.) DANIEL D.] *A Narrative of the adventures and sufferings of Captain Daniel D. Heustis and his companions, in Canada and Van Dieman's Land, during a long captivity; with travels in California, and voyages at sea*. Boston: Published for Redding & Co., by Silas W. Wilder & Co. 1847.

12mo. pp. vi, 168. Front. woodcut "View of the Battle of Prescott." The original front paper cover bears a likeness of Capt. Heustis, from a daguerreotype. An introduction, "The Canadian Movement," 8 pages, by Benj. Kingsbury, Jr.

HINCKS (Sir) FRANCIS. *Reminiscences of his public life* by Sir Francis Hincks, K. C. M. G., C. B. Montreal, 1884.

Chap. ii, The crisis of 1836 and its consequences; chap. iv, Responsible government; chap. v, First session of the Union Parliament. The reminiscences begin in the rebellion year of 1837. The author founded the *Examiner* (Toronto), in July '37 (buying his press and type in Buffalo), to be the exponent of the views of the Reformers of Upper Canada. In his office many of the political pamphlets of the day, noted in this list, were printed. The motto of the *Examiner* was at first "Responsible Government," to which was later added, "and the Voluntary Principle."

HOLLEY, GEORGE W. *Niagara: Its history and geology, incidents and poetry*. . . . New York City. . . . 1872.

12mo., pp. xii, 165; map and ill.

Another ed., revised and enlarged, "The Falls of Niagara, with supplemental chapters," etc., N. Y., 1883. Contains a short account of the burning of the *Caroline*.

HORTON, WILLIAM H. (*editor*). *Geographical Gazetteer of Jefferson County, N. Y. 1684-1890*. Edited by William H. Horton. Compiled and published by Hamilton Child. . . . Syracuse, N. Y. . . . 1890.

8vo. part first (*as above*), pp. 887. Part second, "Business Directory . . .," pp. 345.

In its historical sketches of the several towns, numerous incidents of the disturbances of '37-'38 are given.

HOUGH, FRANKLIN B. A History of Jefferson County in the State of New York from the earliest period to the present time. By Franklin B. Hough, A. M., M. D. Author of the history of St. Lawrence and Jefferson counties, and corresponding member of the New York Historical Society. [*cut of seal.*] Albany: Joel Munsell, 78 State St. Watertown, N. Y.: Sterling & Riddell, 1854.

8vo. pp. 601.

Chap. xiv, "Events of 1837-40": The burning of the Caroline; affair of Hickory Island; burning of the Peel; affair at Prescott; attempt to burn the Great Britain; the so-called Patriot's bank; Hunters' Lodges, etc.

HOUGH, FRANKLIN B. A history of St. Lawrence and Franklin Counties, New York, from the earliest period to the present time. By Franklin B. Hough, A. M., M. D., corresponding member of the New York Historical Society. Albany: Little & Co., 53 State Street. 1853.

8vo. pp. xv, 719.

Chap. x, "The Patriot War of 1837-1840" (pp. 656-674), reviews the Caroline affair; but gives with greater fullness the history of the burning of the British steamer Sir Robert Peel, at Wells Island, Jefferson Co., N. Y., May 30, 1838, and other events of the war on the St. Lawrence; with a list of the persons taken at the Windmill and tried at Kingston.

HUME, JOSEPH. The celebrated letter of Joseph Hume, M. P., to William Lyon Mackenzie, Esq., Mayor of Toronto, declaratory of a design to "Free these provinces from the baleful domination of the Mother Country!" With the comments of the press of Upper Canada on the pernicious and treasonable tendency of that letter, and the speeches, resolutions and amendments of the Common Council of this city, which were the result of a motion of that body to disavow all participation in the sentiments of Mr. Hume. [*quot. 41.*] Toronto: Published and printed by G. T. Bull, at the Recorder and General Printing office, Market-House, 1834. Price one shilling and three-pence.

8vo. pp. 64.

HUME, JOSEPH. Speech in House of Commons. May 18, 1838. (Hansard, 3d ser., vol. 42, p. 1362.)

HUME, JOSEPH. Motion calling for all the Head correspondence and speech attacking Sir Francis Bond Head. In House of Commons, March 5, 1839. (Hansard, 3d ser., vol. 45, p. 1312.)

HUME, JOSEPH. Inquiry as to the reported execution by Col. Prince of prisoners brought in by Indians. In House of Commons, March 27, 1839. (Hansard, 3d ser., vol. 46, p. 1222.)

HUNT, J. An adventure on a frozen lake. A tale of the Canadian Rebellion of 1837-8. Cincinnati, 1853.

8vo. pp. 46.

Hunters' Lodges, legislative steps to procure information concerning, *see* Journal, House of Assembly, U. C., session 1839-40, pp. 28, 53, 68, 87, 90, 109, 110.

Hunters' Lodges. *See* D. W. Cross.

Important public documents relative to the resignation of the executive councillors. Toronto: Guardian office—J. H. Lawrence, Printer, 1838.

8vo. pp. 8 (2 cols. to the page).

INGLIS, (Sir) R[OBERT HARRY]. Parliamentary inquiry as to the case of the American ship Caroline. In House of Commons, Feb. 2, 1838. (Hansard, 3d ser., vol. 40, p. 715.)

JAMESON (Mrs.) [ANNA BROWNELL (Murphy)]. Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada. By Mrs. Jameson. . . . In two volumes. Vol. i [ii]. New York: Wiley and Putnam, 161 Broadway. 1839.

12mo. vol. i, pp. viii, [2], 10-341; vol. ii, pp. iv, 339.

A German ed. Braunschweig, 1839. 3v.

Vol. i. Clergy Reserves, pp. 28-32; politics and parties, 75-78; Constitution of Upper Canada, prorogation of the House of Assembly, acts of legislature in '37, pp. 105-120. Mrs. Jameson was in Toronto, at Niagara, etc., in the rebellion years of 1837-8, but writes only of the political and social disturbance, evidently seeing nothing of the resort to arms. The topics here cited are omitted from the reprint of a part of the "Winter Studies" printed in 1862 under the title "Sketches in Canada and Rambles among the Red Men."

JOHNSON, CRISFIELD. Centennial History of Erie County, New York: being its annals from the earliest recorded events to the hundredth year of American Independence. By Crisfield Johnson. Buffalo, N. Y. Printing house of Matthews & Warren. Office of the "Buffalo Commercial Advertiser." 1876.

8vo. pp. 512.

Chap. xxxvi, pp. 413-426, "The Patriot War," etc. A good general sketch, particularly in regard to events connected with the rebellion on the American side of the border; military organization in Buffalo, origin of the Buffalo City Guard, etc.

Journal of the House of Assembly of Upper Canada. . . . Toronto. v. d.

[Bills relative to the Rebellion:] (*The dates in parenthesis indicate the year of the journal; the figures following, the page of that journal on which the bill is printed. Titles of bills are abbreviated.*)

To prevent the return to the province, of absconders to the United States, and to deprive them of civil, military and political rights, (1837-8) 107. Committed, 153. Not reported.

To repay moneys advanced for militia service during the rebellion. (1837-8) 234. Not presented.

To extend conditional pardons to those concerned in the rebellion, (1837-8) 348; amended 349, and passed, *ib*; amendments agreed to by Council, 384; Royal assent, 449.

To appoint a commission to ascertain losses sustained by individuals, &c., during the rebellion; reported by committee, (1837-8) 120, committed 136; not reported.

To appoint a commission, &c., (1837-8) 398. Not reported.

To appoint a commission, &c., (1837-8) 400; returned from Council with amendments, 426; agreed to, 427. Royal assent, 449.

To indemnify for losses, to provide for speedy payment of claims. &c., (1839) 194. Not proceeded in.

To pay sundry claims; ordered, (1839) 246; presented, 265. Royal assent, 388.

Granting £40,000, to indemnify sufferers by the late rebellion, to pay claims, etc.; ordered (1839) 295; presented, 308. Motion to re-commit, to reduce amt., negatived; amended, 319; passed, 320. Returned from Council with amendments, 331. Not considered. New bill, 337; passed, 338. Address to Her Majesty, to accompany bill, presented, 364. Address to His Excellency to transmit same; ordered, 365. Answer, 384. Bill reserved, 390.

Granting £50,000, to indemnify, &c., (1839-40) 213; presented, 217. Committed and amended, 232; reserved, 384.

To disqualify persons concerned with the rebellion, (1839-40) 27; motion to postpone 2d reading 3 months; House adjourns, *ib*. Motion carried, 28.

Petition of Wm. Hust for compensation for wound (1837-8) 293. Resolution granting him £25 for gallant conduct in capturing a band of rebels, 387. Royal assent, 449. Another petition (1839) 141. Referred to committee on rebellion losses, 176. No report.

Proceedings against members charged with being concerned in the rebellion, (1837-8) 106, 107, 108, 138, 139, 272. *See also* W. L. Mackenzie.

Journal of the Legislative Council of Upper Canada. . . . Toronto. *v. d*.

[1836:] Clergy Reserves, despatch on, Glenelg to Colborne, app. E. pp. 32-33.

[1837:] Clergy Reserves, message from Assembly. 43; conference asked for, 48; acceded to, 50; reported, 51.

[1838:] Address of the Legislative Council to Her Majesty on the State of the Province, p. 137; also app. CC, pp. 134-139.

(Highly interesting document, signed by John B. Robinson, Speaker, Leg. Council, 28 Feb. 1838: "When these citizens of the United States speak of bringing to us the boon of Republican Institutions they seem to imagine that they will be regarded as offering to extend to the people of Upper Canada some newly-discovered blessing." etc.)

[1838:] Resolutions respecting Militia Service in the rebellion, 17; vote of thanks for services rendered by Col. MacNab

and Capt. Drew, 106; protests against adoption, 113; appointment of committee of privilege, 126, 142, 143.

[1839:] Clergy Reserves—Glenelg's despatches relative to endowment of rectories, app. O, p. 37; address to the Queen relative to claims for losses "occasioned by an incursion of Brigands from the United States," etc., app. R, p. 50; address to the Lt. Gov. relative to the measures taken by Her Majesty's minister at Washington for preventing further outrages upon the inhabitants of this Province by citizens of the United States of America, app. S, p. 51; claim of Duncan McGregor, for loss of his steamboat *Thames* by the Brigands [at Windsor, Dec. 4, 1838], app. CC, pp. 115-116; correspondence with Her Majesty's minister at Washington, respecting the invasion of the Canadas, app. V, pp. 61-65; petitions on subject of Clergy Reserves, app. X; report of the select committee upon Durham's Report, app. GG, p. 119.

[1840:] Rebellion claims payment bill, pp. 113, 115, 117; passed, 123; reserved to learn the Queen's will, 189.

Further entries in the Journals bearing on our subject may be consulted under Index references in the Journals, of Accounts and Papers, Addresses, Committees, House, Incendiarism, Kidd (John), MacNab (Hon. A. N.), Members, Messages, Pensions, Petitions, Powell, (John) Sedition, Speeches, Supply.

K——, J. Plain reasons for loyalty. addressed to plain people. Cobourg, U. C. R. D. Chatterton, printer, 1838.

8vo. pp. 8.

KENNEDY, HOWARD ANGUS. The story of Canada. [Story of the Empire series.] London, *n. d.* [1898].

12mo. pp. 175.

Chap. x, "The winning of liberty," and chap. xi, "The experiment of legislative union," cover briefly our subject.

KEPPEL, W. C. See Viscount Bury.

[KING, JOHN.] The Other Side of the "Story," being some reviews of Mr. J. C. Dent's first volume of "The Story of the Upper Canadian Rebellion," and the letters in the Mackenzie-Rolph controversy. Also, a critique, hitherto unpublished on "The New Story." [quotations, 131.] Toronto: James Murray & Co., Printers, 26 and 28 Front Street West. 1886.

8vo. pp. 150.

The author, a lawyer, is a son-in-law of Mackenzie. He reprints reviews of Dent's "Story of the Upper Canadian Rebellion" from the *Toronto Daily Mail* of Nov. 19, 1885; from *The Week*, Nov. 19, 1885; and other sources. The greater part of the volume (pp. 49-146) gives the author's own assaults on Dent, and defense of Mackenzie.

KINGSBURY, BENJ. (Jr.). The Canadian Movement. See [Heustis, (Capt.) D. D.]

KINGSFORD, WILLIAM (LL.D., F.R.S.) The History of Canada. . . .

Vol. ix, chaps. 7, 8; vol. x—Books 34, 35, 36.

KIRBY, WILLIAM. *Annals of Niagara*. By William Kirby, F. R. S. C. [quot. 2 l.] [Lundy's Lane Hist. Soc. Pub.] 1896.

8vo. pp. 269.

Part of chap. 32, all of chap. 33 and part of chap. 34 narrate the events of 1836-38 on the Niagara, though not altogether with accuracy.

Kirby, William. *See* The Servos Family.

KOBERSTEIN, PAUL. *Die ersten Deutsch-Amerikanischen Miliz-Compagnien*. *See Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter*, Chicago, July, 1902.

A sketch of the first German-American militia company, which was organized in Buffalo in 1838 under the name of the Steuben Guards, to assist in preserving order, or in defense if occasion arose. Substantially the same data that are given in the following:

KOBERSTEIN, PAUL (*author in part; and ed.*) *Geschichte der Deutschen in Buffalo und Erie County, N. Y.* . . . Buffalo . . . 1898.

Album fol, pp. 337 [140]. Ill.

German and English text. Pp. 57-62, "German Military Company," is a history of the first military organization of German citizens, the Steuben Guards, brought into existence in Jan. 1838, by the Caroline affair. "The first political announcement of the Germans in Buffalo took place on the 23d of December, 1837, when 200 had warned their fellow-citizens by a proclamation not to take part in the illegal movements against Canada." English and Canadian writers then—and since—have been accustomed to accuse the Americans, especially Buffalonians, with sympathy with the rebels; but have, as a rule, failed to note that the better class of citizens here were not only not in sympathy with the movement, but were prompt in organizing against it. The Steuben Guard, the militia organization of Buffalo Germans brought into existence at this time, was maintained for some years, and was the original organization of several which in 1848 became the 65th Regiment, National Guard of the State of New York. Mr. Koberstein gives also a brief sketch of the Caroline affair.

LABOUCHERE, HENRY (*Baron Taunton*). Reply to O'Connell's inquiry of same date, saying that to that time only 16 insurrectionists had been hanged in Canada. In House of Commons, Feb. 27, 1839. (Hansard, 3d ser., vol. 45, p. 939.)

LABOUCHERE, HENRY. Reply to Hume's motion for all the Head correspondence, proposing amendment that only extracts and copies be furnished. [Amendment accepted and agreed to.] March 5, 1839. (Hansard, 3d ser., vol. 45, p. 1314.)

LABOUCHERE, HENRY. Reply to O'Connell's inquiry of same date, saying that the Government in its dispatches to the Governors in Canada had instructed them to hang as few persons as possible. March 14, 1839. (Hansard, 3d ser., vol. 46, p. 627.)

LABOUCHERE, HENRY. Reply to O'Connell's inquiry of same date.

saying that dispatches received from the Governors in Canada stated that it would not be necessary to hang any more. March 21, 1839. (Hansard, 3d ser., vol. 40, p. 1048.)

LABOUCHERE, HENRY. Reply to Hume's inquiry of same date, saying that Prince had been called on for an explanation, which, when given, proved to be unsatisfactory, and a court had been ordered. March 27, 1839. (Hansard, 3d ser., vol. 46, p. 1222.)

LAMBTON, JOHN GEORGE. *See* the Earl of Durham.

LARNED, J. N. (*compiler*). History for ready reference. From the best historians, biographers and specialists. Their own words in a complete system. . . . [6 vols.] Springfield, Mass. . . . 1894-1901.

Vol. i, article "Canada," gives clear statements on the Family Compact, causes of discontent that produced rebellion, burning of the Caroline and other episodes, the consequent international imbroglio, the McLeod case, reunion of the provinces. (Pp. 380-383.)

LEGION [*pseud.*]. *See* — Sullivan.

LINDSEY, CHARLES. The Clergy Reserves: their history and present position, showing the systematic attempts that have been made to establish in connection with the State, a dominant church in Canada. With a full account of the rectories. Also an appendix containing Dr. Rolph's speech on the Clergy Reserves, delivered in 1836. By Charles Lindsey. Printed at the "North American" press, Yonge Street, Toronto. MDCCCLI.

Large 8vo. pp. 59, [1], xv.

LINDSEY, CHARLES. *See* William Lyon Mackenzie.

LINDSEY, E. G. A history of the events which transpired during the Navy Island campaign: to which is added the correspondence of different public officers, with the affidavits of individuals in the United States and Canada. By E. G. Lindsey. Lewiston: John A. Habrison, printer, Niagara Co., N. Y. 1838.

8vo. pp. 40.

See fac-simile of title-page herewith.

An exceedingly scarce pamphlet, giving with minute detail many events not chronicled elsewhere, relative to the occupation of Navy Island; with numerous documents elsewhere accessible. Among them are Gov. Marcy's proclamation of Dec. 19, 1837; his message to the Legislature of New York, Jan. 2, 1838, reciting the events of the Caroline affair, etc., and intimating that the services of the militia would soon be required; numerous letters from the Department of State at Washington; the circular letter of Henry W. Rogers, district attorney, dated Buffalo, Dec. 11, 1837; letter from Rogers to Col. A. N. Macnab, commanding Her Majesty's forces on the Niagara Frontier, and Macnab's reply dated "Headquarters, Chippewa, 29th Dec. 1837"; letters to and from Rensselaer Van Rensselaer, on Navy Island; from Lt. Gov. Head to Mr. Fox of the British Embassy at Washington; orders

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Lithographic Views of military operations in Canada under His Excellency Sir John Colborne, G. C. B., etc., during the late insurrection. From sketches by Lord Charles Beauclerk, Captain Royal Regiment. Accompanied by notes historical and descriptive. London, 1840.

Folio, 6 colored plates, pp. 24.

Contains an account of the operations on Navy Island, but no illustrations relating to our district.

LIZARS, ROBINA and KATHLEEN MACFARLANE. Humours of '37. Grave, gay and grim. Rebellion times in the Canadas. By Robina and Kathleen Macfarlane Lizars, authors of "In the Days of the Canada Company: The Story of the Settlement of the Huron Tract." [quotation.] Toronto: William Briggs, Wesley Buildings. C. W. Coates, Montreal. S. F. Heustis, Halifax. 1897.

12mo. pp. 369, [1]. Advertisements, 3 pp. Folding map, part of Ontario and Quebec.

A repository of anecdotes and miscellaneous matter of more or less value, bearing on the rebellion.

LIZARS, ROBINA and KATHLEEN M. See Capt. T. W. Luard.

Losses by the rebellion. See Journal, House of Assembly, U. C., session 1839-40, pp. 247, 301, 302. See also Alexander Mackay.

LOSSING, BENSON J. (LL.D.). The Empire State. . . . New York, 1887.

8vo., pp. xix, 618, ill.

See pp. 489-491.

LUARD (Capt.) THOMAS W. [Diary of militia service, 1836-38.] See "In the Days of the Canada Company" (R. and K. M. Lizars), Toronto, 1896.

The extracts from this valuable diary here given afford picturesque glimpses of the Navy Island campaign from the viewpoint of the Canadian militia. Capt. Luard was in command of the artillery at Chippewa and "helped to shell 'the sympathizing General Van Rensselaer,' out of his quarters in Navy Island." A graphic page depicts the state of things on the island after its evacuation.

LYON, CALEB. See Stephen S. Wright.

LYSONS (Sir) DANIEL (G. C. B.) Early Reminiscences. By General Sir Daniel Lysons, G. C. B. . . . London. John Murray, Albemarle Street. 1896.

12mo. pp. xiv, 246.

The author was an ensign in the 1st Royal Regiment, which he joined Feb. 20, 1835, and accompanied to Canada. In September, 1836, on leave of absence, he visited Buffalo and Niagara Falls. In 1837 he was bearer of dispatches from Sir John Colborne to Sir Francis Bond Head, and later served on the staff of Col. Charles Gore in the Lower Canada Rebellion. With a sprightly account of his own experiences he gives a brief sketch of affairs in the Upper Province, the burning of the Caroline, etc.

McCARTHY, JUSTIN. A history of our own times.

Vol. i, chap. 3.

Macdonald, (Sir) John A. Canada's patriot statesman. The life and career of Sir John A. Macdonald . . . based on the work of Edmund Collins . . . by G. Mercer Adam. . . . Toronto. . . . [1891.]

Chap. i treats of Hunters' Lodges, the battle of the Windmill; chap. x, Clergy Reserves.

MACKAY, ALEXANDER (*Esq.*). The Crisis in Canada; or vindication of Lord Elgin and his cabinet, as to the course pursued by them in reference to the Rebellion Losses bill. London, 1847.

8vo. pp. 67.

MACKENZIE, WILLIAM LYON. The History of the Battle of Toronto, with illustrations and notes, critical and explanatory; exhibiting the only true account of what took place at the memorable siege of Toronto. [woodcut:] Powell shooting Anderson. Mr. Anderson was a captain in the Patriot Army at the time he was murdered. Rochester: Printed and sold at No. 7, Front Street. 1839.

8vo. pp. 20.

Crude woodcut at end: "A Patriot murdered whilst returning home from a meeting of the Patriots." At p. 12: "A true likeness of the notorious murderer at the Battle of Toronto." At p. 18: "Confession of John Powell, Esq., Mayor of Toronto." Only copy known to the compiler, in private library of Jas. Bain, Jr., Toronto.

Narrative originally written for the *Jeffersonian* (at Watertown) by Mackenzie; prefaced by an introduction decidedly not written by Mackenzie, whom it calls "the Arch-Traitor," and supplied with notes by the same hand, "Our Canadian Editor." This hostile editor does certify that the narrative "contains more truth than Mackenzie generally threw into his injurious compositions."

MACKENZIE, W. L. The Legislative Black-List of Upper Canada; or, official corruption and hypocrisy unmasked. By William Lyon Mackenzie. York. 1828.

8vo. pp. 40.

MACKENZIE, W. L. Mackenzie's own narrative of the late rebellion, with illustrations and notes, critical and explanatory: exhibiting the only true account of what took place at the memorable siege

of Toronto, in the month of December, 1837. Price 1s. Toronto: Printed and sold at the Palladium office, York Street. 1838.

8vo. pp. 23.

See reduced fac-simile of title-page herewith; height of original, 7 in. Said to have been suppressed, so far as possible, by Lt. Gov. Head; but few copies known.

MACKENZIE, W. L. Personal Narrative of the escape of W. L. Mackenzie from Toronto to the United States.

N. Y. Tribune, Sept. . . , 1847. *Chambers Edinburgh Review*, vol. 8, pp. 412-14. *Littell's Living Age*, vol. 16, Boston, 1848; this account condensed from the *Edinburgh Review*, with political allusions omitted.

MACKENZIE, W. L. Sketches of Canada and the United States. By William L. Mackenzie. [*quot. 9 l.*] London: Effingham Wilson, Royal Exchange. MDCCCXXXIII.

12mo. pp. xxiv, 504.

Though published four years before the outbreak, it contains much matter bearing on the fundamental questions involved in the uprising.

MACKENZIE, W. L. Statement of Facts relating to the trespass on the printing press, in the possession of Mr. William Lyon Mackenzie, in June, 1826. Addressed to the public generally. And particularly to the subscribers and supporters of the *Colonial Advocate*. Ancaster. Printed by Geo. Gurnett. 1828.

8vo. pp. 32.

MACKENZIE, W. L. The Caroline Almanack and American Freeman's Chronicle. For 1840. [*4 l. woodcut, scene of Durfee's murder at Schlosser dock, quotation, 16 l.*] Rochester, N. Y. Mackenzie's Gazette office [1840].

8vo. pp. 124. On p. 3, engraving of executions in Canada; p. 92, view of the battle of Windmill Point.

MACKENZIE, W. L. Mackenzie's Weekly Message Extra. Head's Flag of Truce, or a defence of the memory of the late Colonel Samuel Lount, formerly member of the Legislative Assembly for Simcoe County, from the unjust charge made by Honble. John Rolph, President of the Executive Council, to the effect that Colonel Lount's statement, given shortly before his death, relative to the flag of truce, Dec. 5, 1837, was untrue. By W. L. Mackenzie. *n. p. n. d.* [Toronto, 1853?]

8vo. pp. 16.

Chap. vii gives the narrative of Col. Silas Fletcher of Fredonia, dated Fredonia, July 29, 1840, with quotations from the *Buffalo Express* of Dec. 6, 1847, and other newspapers, on the subject of granting amnesty to Mackenzie, and permitting his return to Canada. Chap. x gives an account of Dr. Rolph's experiences in Buffalo, at the Eagle Tavern, which was Patriot headquarters. Chap. xi deals with Mackenzie's twelvemonth in Rochester jail. Chap. xiii is entitled "Rolph in Navy Island

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Times and Now": "When on Navy Island, Jan. 3, 1838, I sent to the *Rochester Democrat* a statement of wrongs written by Dr. Rolph, to which, at his request, I signed my name," etc.

MACKENZIE, W. L. History of the Recent Insurrection in the Canadas.

See *The United States Magazine and Democratic Review* (Washington), 1838, reprinted in *Mackenzie's Gazette*, vol. i (1838). See also *The Monroe Democrat*, Dec. 19, 1837.

MACKENZIE, Wm. L. See Martin Van Buren.

Mackenzie, W. L. The life and times of Wm. Lyon Mackenzie. With an account of the Canadian Rebellion of 1837, and the subsequent frontier disturbances, chiefly from unpublished documents. By Charles Lindsey. Vol. i [ii]. Toronto, C. W.: P. R. Randall, No. 12 Toronto Street. 1862.

8vo. Vol. i, pp. 401, steel port. W. L. Mackenzie; woodcut fac-simile of medal, opp. p. 208. Vol. ii, pp. 400, [advs. 5 p.], steel port. Sir Francis B. Head, Bart. 7 full page woodcuts.

An ed. Philadelphia, 1862.

First in importance of all narratives connected with our subject; written by a son-in-law of Mackenzie, not wholly impartial, perhaps, though with a manifest purpose to be so. J. C. Dent, in his "Story of the Upper Canadian Rebellion" (q. v.) challenges the work on this ground. Lindsey shows fairly the impetuous but sincere character of Mackenzie, and narrates with adequate fullness the events of his troubled career, using in the work many of M's own MSS.

McKenzie [Mackenzie] William Lyon. [His record in the House of Assembly of Upper Canada; see the Journal as follows:]

Expelled for writing certain articles in the *Colonial Advocate*, (1831-2) 38; again expelled, 83, 84. (*Re-elected*.) Motion declaring him unworthy, &c., (1832-3) 9; negatived; motion for new writ, amended, agreed to, 10; motion for new writ, &c., 132. Motion giving him right to sit in the House, negatived, (1833-4) 10. Motion for expunging from Journals all proceedings against, &c., 15; that he has been duly elected, &c., 23; that the House will not allow him to sit, 24; new writ ordered, 25. (*Mackenzie re-elected*.) Motion to expel, 46. Sergeant-at-arms reports M. in custody of the House, &c.; M. admonished and discharged, 104. Motion on resolution of expulsion, etc., (1835) 141, 142, 408.

The above skeletonizes the entries in the Index of the House Journals, nearly a page of which (p. 350) is devoted to references to the Journals containing record of proceedings regarding Mackenzie's right to the seat to which he was repeatedly elected.

Mackenzie. Trial of W. L. Mackenzie, for an alleged violation of the neutrality of the United States. New York, 1840.

24mo. pp. 104.

Title from Sabin; book not seen.

Mackenzie (Wm. Lyon). (*Biographies of:*)

Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography, edited by Jas. Grant Wilson and John Fiske; vol. iv. (N. Y., 1888.)

Bourinot, (Sir) John G. The Makers of the Dominion of Canada. A series of 12 illustrated papers on famous men and incidents of Canadian history to 1867, published serially in the *Canadian Magazine* (Toronto). For Mackenzie, see chap. 9, vol. ii, 1898.

Bryce, George. In Winsor's Narrative and Critical History, vol. viii, p. 181.

Harper's Encyclopaedia of United States History [1902], vol. vi, pp. 26-27. Also under "Canada," vol. ii, pp. 47-48.

Harper's Popular Cyclopaedia of United States History . . . by Benson J. Lossing, vol. ii. (N. Y., 1881.)

Morgan, Henry J. Sketches of Celebrated Canadians. . . . Quebec, 1862. McKenzie [Mackenzie], Wm. Lyon, pp. 330-337.

Rose's Cyclopaedia of Canadian Biography. Toronto, 1886. Pp. 33-34.

Walpole, Spencer. Life of Lord John Russell. Vol. i, pp. 309-310: "To Mackenzie the establishment of responsible government in Canada is largely due."

Mackenzie. Correspondence between the Colonial office and Provincial Government respecting the repeated expulsions of Mackenzie; Journal, Upper Canada House of Assembly, 161. [App. No. 28.] [1836.]

McLENNAN (*Major*), R. R. To the surviving veterans of 1837-8-9. In response to many requests, the following brief statement of the efforts that have from time to time been made to obtain a suitable recognition of your services is respectfully dedicated by Major R. R. McLennan, M. P. Alexandria: Printed at the office of the Glengarrian, 1892.

8vo. pp. 51.

An account of legislation towards compensation, extracts from Parliament records, petitions, etc., and an Appendix giving various documents.

McLEOD, ALEXANDER. [*Letter of:*] To the Honorable Sir Allan Napier Macnab, Knight, Speaker of the Legislative Assembly of Canada. n. p. n. d. [1845.]

8vo. pp. 22.

Pamphlet, dated "Niagara, 4th January, 1848," setting forth the circumstances of his arrest, imprisonment and trial "on the charge that I was one of the party who by your command destroyed the steamboat Caroline," etc. An elaborate refutation of charges against him, and recital of incidents, 1838-1842. From '42 to '45 McLeod was seeking redress in the courts, and published this pamphlet in furtherance of his efforts.

- McLeod, Alexander. [*cover title:*] The trial of Alexander McLeod, for the murder of Amos Durfee, at the burning and destruction of

- the steamboat *Caroline*, by the Canadians, December 29th, 1837. Reported by Marcus T. C. Gould, stenographer. Assisted by H. Fowler, Esq., stenographer, of Canada. Published by Gould, Banks & Co., New York, and William A. Gould & Co., Albany, Nov. 1, 1841. Price, one dollar. [Vol. ii of "Gould's Stenographic Reporter; published monthly, in the City of Washington. . . ."]
8vo. pp. 416.
- McLeod, A. Case of the *Caroline* and arrest of M'Leod for the murder of Durfee. London, 1837-41.
2 vols. folio.
Title from Sabin; work not seen.
- McLeod, A. *See also*:
Outline history of Utica and vicinity. Prepared by a committee of the New Century Club. [*seal.*] Utica, New York. L. C. Childs and Son. 1900.
Sm. 4to. p. 201. Trial of McLeod, pp. 17, 18.
Bagg, M. M. (*editor*). Memorial history of Utica, N. Y. From its settlement to the present time. Edited by M. M. Bagg, M. D. Syracuse, N. Y. D. Mason & Co., publishers, 1892.
8vo. pp. 631, 104.
Trial of "William" (*sic*) McLeod p. 242; correctly given as Alexander McLeod in biographical notice of Judge Joshua A. Spencer, pp. 542-544.
Dent's "Last Forty Years in Canada," vol. i, chap. viii.
- McLeod, A. Trial of Alexander M'Leod, for the murder of Amos Durfee; and as an accomplice in the burning of the steamer *Caroline*, in the Niagara River, during the Canadian Rebellion in 1837-8. New York: Sun office, 1841.
8vo. pp. 32.
Also, 8vo., Washington, 1841.
- McLeod, A. Bill to defray expense of detention and trial of.
See N. Y. Ass. Jour., 1842, pp. 723, 732, 883, 995.
- McLeod, A. Case of, diplomatic aspects, etc. *See also*: H. C. Lodge's "Daniel Webster," ch. viii; Wm. H. Seward's Works, vol. ii, pp. 547-588; Joshua A. Spencer's argument in behalf of McL., chap. xix, in "Celebrated Trials" (Henry Lawson Clinton, *ed*), N. Y., 1897; Webster's Works, vol. vi, pp. 247-269; David Urquhart's "Case of Mr. McLeod," (*q. v.*); Webster's Works, vol. vi, pp. 247-269; Wendell's Reports, vol. xxv, pp. 482-603; review of decision by Judge Tallmadge in McLeod case, Wendell, xxvi, p. 663, App. *See also* under "Case of the *Caroline*."
- McLeod, A. [Official correspondence in relation to.]
New York State Assembly, 63d sess., 1841; doc. No. 292.
Embraces 23 communications, in date from Feb. 15 to May 18, 1841; Gov. Seward to Chief Justice Saml. Nelson of the Supreme Court; John Forsyth, Sec'y of State, to Gov. Seward; Forsyth

to Henry S. Fox, the British minister; Att'y.-Gen. Willis Hall to Seward; Lord Sydenham to Seward, etc.; all accompanying the governor's message of 1841. *Also:*

New York State Assembly, 64th sess., 1842; docs. C, pp. 87-143.

In all, 35 communications, in date from Mch. 12 to Oct. 13, 1841; letters between Daniel Webster, Sec'y of State, and Henry S. Fox, President Tyler and Gov. Seward, Seward to the President, to Webster, etc.; also instructions to the Sheriff of Oneida Co. in the case, etc.

M'LEOD, D. A brief review of the settlement of Upper Canada by the U. E. Loyalists and Scotch Highlanders, in 1783; and of the grievances which compelled the Canadas to have recourse to arms in defence of their rights and liberties, in the years 1837 and 1838: together with a brief sketch of the campaigns of 1812, '13, '14: With an account of the Military Executions, Burnings, and Sackings of Towns and Villages, by the British, in the Upper and Lower Provinces, during the Commotion of 1837 and '38. By D. M'Leod, Major General, Patriot Army, Upper Canada. Cleveland: Printed for the author, by F. B. Penniman. 1841.

12mo. pp. 292.

See fac-simile of title-page on page 470.

MACMULLEN, JOHN. History of Canada. . . . 2d ed. Brockville, 1868.

Chaps. 18-23 offer an excellent account of the rebellion and its results.

MARCY, (Gov.) WILLIAM L. [Message relative to disturbances on the Canada frontier; with docs. and proceedings.] N. Y. Senate Journal, 1838.

Doc. 9, p. 116.

MARRYATT, (Capt.) C. B. A Diary in America, with remarks on its institutions. . . . London. . . . 1839.

12mo. 3 vols.

In vol. iii, part 2d, chaps. 4-6, is a long discussion of political problems in the Canadas, with some consideration of the events of the rebellion, Lord Durham's report, etc.

MARSH, ROBERT. Seven years of my life, or narrative of a Patriot Exile. Who, together with eighty-two American citizens, were illegally tried for rebellion in Upper Canada in 1838, and transported to Van Dieman's Land, comprising a true account of our outrageous treatment during ten months' imprisonment in Upper Canada, and four months of horrible suffering in a transport ship on the ocean. With a true but appalling history of our cruel and unmerciful treatment during five years of unmitigated suffering on that detestable prison island. Showing, also, the cruelty and barbarity of the British Government to its prisoners generally in that penal colony, with a concise account of the island, its in-

A BRIEF REVIEW
OF THE
SETTLEMENT OF UPPER CANADA
BY THE
U. E. LOYALISTS AND SCOTCH HIGHLANDERS,
IN 1783;

And of the grievances which
COMPELLED THE CANADAS TO HAVE RECOURSE
TO ARMS IN DEFENCE OF THEIR
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TOGETHER WITH A BRIEF SKETCH OF THE
CAMPAIGNS OF 1812, '13, '14:

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ings of Towns and Villages, by the British, in the
Upper and Lower Provinces, during the

COMMOTION OF 1837 AND '38.

BY D. M'LEOD,
Major General, Patriot Army, Upper Canada.

CLEVELAND.

PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR, BY F. B. PENNIMAN.
1841.

habitants, productions. &c., &c. By Robert Marsh. [*motto*, 2 l.] Buffalo: Faxon & Stevens. 1848.

12mo. pp. 207. Woodcut, "Burning of the steam boat Caroline," op. p. 8.

See fac-simile of title-page on page 472.

Somewhat illiterate in style, but the most detailed, most graphic and most valuable of the narratives of exiles to Van Diemen's Land. Marsh shared the fortunes of the patriots on Navy Island, and gives particulars relating to the various phases of the outbreak on the Niagara not elsewhere found. He was taken prisoner near Sandwich, C. W., after the battle of Windsor; tried at London, C. W., and after detention at Toronto and Kingston, was sent into exile in Van Diemen's Land. He made the voyage in the British prison-ship Buffalo, reaching Hobart Town in Feb. 1840. Two years later he was made a ticket-of-leave man; became a bush-ranger, was re-arrested, pardoned in '45, and reached Buffalo, where his relatives were, in '46. His story has been retold, with relevant data from other sources, in "The Misadventures of Robert Marsh," by Frank H. Severance, *q. v.*

MELBOURNE, (*Viscount*) [Fredk. James Lamb, 3d visc.]. Moves an address to the Crown in accordance with the Message of May 3. Motion supported by the Duke of Wellington, the Earl of Wicklow, and Lord Brougham. In House of Lords, May 6, 1839. (Hansard, 3d ser., vol. 47, p. 866.)

MERRITT, J. P. See W. H. Merritt.

Merritt (*Hon.*) William Hamilton (*M. P.*). Biography of the Hon. W. H. Merritt, M. P., of Lincoln, District of Niagara . . . compiled principally from his original diary and correspondence, by J. P. Merritt, St. Catharines: E. S. Leavenworth, book and job printing establishment. 1875.

8vo. pp. xi, 429. Port.

Pp. 132-223, containing memoranda of the years 1832-'40, offer much regarding Mackenzie and incidents of the rebellion in the Niagara district.

MEYER, SEBASTIAN JOHN. A narrative of the expedition to Prescott. . . .

Cited by Chas. Lindsey in "Life and Times of Wm. Lyon Mackenzie"; not seen.

MILLER, LINUS W[ILSON]. Notes of an Exile to Van Dieman's Land: Comprising incidents of the Canadian Rebellion in 1838, trial of the author in Canada, and subsequent appearance before Her Majesty's Court of Queen's Bench, in London, imprisonment in England, and transportation to Van Dieman's Land. Also, an account of the horrible sufferings endured by ninety political prisoners during a residence of six years in that land of British slavery, together with sketches of the island, its history, produc-

**SEVEN YEARS OF MY LIFE,
OR
NARRATIVE OF A PATRIOT EXILE.**

**WHO TOGETHER WITH
EIGHTY-TWO AMERICAN CITIZENS
WERE ILLEGALLY TRIED FOR REBELLION IN UPPER CANADA IN 1838,
AND TRANSPORTED TO VAN DIEMAN'S LAND,**

COMPRISING A TRUE ACCOUNT

**OF OUR OUTRAGEOUS TREATMENT DURING TEN MONTHS IMPRISONMENT
IN UPPER CANADA, AND FOUR MONTHS OF HORRIBLE SUFFERING
IN A TRANSPORT SHIP ON THE OCEAN.**

WITH A

TRUE BUT APPALLING HISTORY

**OF OUR CRUEL AND UNMERCIFUL TREATMENT DURING FIVE YEARS OF UNMITIGATED
SUFFERING ON THAT DETESTABLE PRISON ISLAND. SHOWING, ALSO, THE
CRUELTY AND BARBARITY OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT TO
ITS PRISONERS GENERALLY IN THAT PENAL COLONY,**

WITH A

Concise account of the Island its Inhabitants, Productions &c. &c.

BY ROBERT MARSH.

**Freedom before Aristocracy; if Liberty be your motto, support and defend it under
all circumstances, otherwise you aid and assist the friends of Monarchy.**

**BUFFALO:
FAXON & STEVENS.
1848.**

tions, inhabitants, &c., &c. [*motto, 1 l.*] By Linus W. Miller. Fredonia, N. Y.: Printed by W. McKinstry & Co. 1846.

8vo. pp. xi, 378.

See fac-simile of title-page on page 474.

Like the narratives of Gates and Marsh, Miller's book tells the story of the uprising, and of subsequent arrest, condemnation and exile. The author, member of a family still prominent in Chautauqua County, N. Y., dated his work at Stockton, Oct. 10, 1846. After six years of penal experience he was pardoned in '45, and was among the earlier of the exiles to return to Western New York. His sufferings had been less than were those of many of his comrades, to most of whom he was superior in education. His book is written with more literary skill than are the narratives of Gates and Marsh, was earlier given to the public than most of the other of the group of exile chronicles to which it belongs, and was dedicated to the Hon. William H. Seward.

Militia General Order: [In praise "of officers and men engaged in the destruction and capture of the Piratical Force, in the vicinity of Prescott," etc.] Adjutant General's office, Toronto, 24th November, 1838.

Folio, pp. 4.

Gives also list of killed (11) and wounded (62).

MORRIS, WILLIAM. A letter on the subject of the Clergy Reserves, addressed to the Very Rev. Principal Macfarlan and the Rev. Dr. Burns, D.D., by William Morris, of Perth, Upper Canada, 1838. Toronto: Printed at the office of the British Colonist. [1838.]

8vo. pp. 25, [1], xlviii.

MOLESWORTH, (*Rt. Hon. Sir*) WILLIAM. "Speech on the Canada Bill, 23d January, 1838." London, 1838.

Title from Kingsford's "Early Bibliography of the Province of Ontario . . ."

MORRIS, WILLIAM. Reply of William Morris, member of the Legislative Council of Upper Canada, to six letters addressed to him by John Strachan, D.D., Archdeacon of York. Toronto: Printed at the Scotsman office, 54 Newgate Street. MDCCCXXXVIII.

8vo. pp. 54.

MYERS, P. HAMILTON. The Prisoner of the Border; a tale of 1838. By P. Hamilton Myers, author of "The First of the Knickerbockers," "Young Patroon," "King of the Hurons," "Bell Brandon," etc. New York: Derby & Jackson, 119 Nassau St. 1857.

12mo. pp. 378. [Derby & Jackson's publications, 6 pp.]; 4 ill.

Every historical episode must have its novel. This builds an entertaining romance, in a style not now greatly in demand, on the events of the rebellions in Upper and Lower Canada; touches the Niagara, but deals principally with affairs on the St. Lawrence, at Prescott, etc., at Kingston, Oswego, and on the Hudson.

NOTES OF AN EXILE
TO
VAN DIEMAN'S LAND:

**COMPREISING INCIDENTS OF THE CANADIAN REBELLION IN 1838, TRIAL OF
THE AUTHOR IN CANADA, AND SUBSEQUENT APPEARANCE BEFORE HER
MAJESTY'S COURT OF QUEEN'S BENCH, IN LONDON, IMPRISONMENT
IN ENGLAND, AND TRANSPORTATION TO VAN DIEMAN'S LAND.**

ALSO,

**AN ACCOUNT OF THE HORRIBLE SUFFERINGS ENDURED BY NINETY POLITICAL
PRISONERS DURING A RESIDENCE OF SIX YEARS IN THAT LAND OF
BRITISH SLAVERY, TOGETHER WITH SKETCHES OF THE ISLAND,
ITS HISTORY, PRODUCTIONS, INHABITANTS, &c. &c.**

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**Slaves can breathe in England.**  
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BY LINUS W. MILLER.

FREDONIA, N. Y.:
PRINTED BY W. MCKINSTY & CO.

1846.

Navy Island and the Caroline. See Harper's Popular Cyclopaedia of U. S. Hist., vol. ii, p. 958.

Navy Island in 1837:

Murray (Miss) Louise. "The Niagara District," in "Picturesque Canada," vol. i. George Munro Grant, ed.; Toronto [1882].

Newspapers, contemporary.

It is not practicable, even were it possible, to include here the newspapers in which, from 1837-'40, reports of events connected with the rebellion may be found. Mackenzie's own paper, the *Colonial Advocate*, first published at Queenston, Ont., May 18, 1824, was issued in Toronto, Nov., '24 to 1834; revived, 1836, under the name of the *Constitution*; subsequent to 1858, *Mackenzie's Message* lived a short time. In Toronto, the contemporary history of the time may be traced in the *Correspondent and Advocate*, the *Patriot*, the *Palladium*, and especially the *Upper Canada Gazette*; in Buffalo, in the *Patriot*, the *Commercial Advertiser*, and *Journal*; in Rochester, the *Democrat*. In no newspaper will more valuable matter bearing on the outbreak be found than in *Niles' National Register* (q. v.). Of particular interest in this connection are: The *Western Herald and Farmers' Magazine*, vols. i-iii, Sandwich, U. C., 1838-'9; and the *Bald Eagle*, edited by Dr. S. Underhill, published in Cleveland, O., during the period of disturbances.

New York Assembly Documents. Communication from the Governor [Wm. H. Seward] transmitting certain communications in relation to recent events upon the frontier of this State. In Assembly, April 15, 1839. [*N. Y. Assem. Doc.* 375. 1839.]

8vo. pp. 31.

The correspondence relates chiefly to the Champlain frontier and the depredations of marauders at Rouse's Point, N. Y., and Alburgh, Vt., Feb. 2, 1839; several of the letters, however, treat of matters on the Niagara. Among them is one from Lieut. Col. J. B. Crane, U. S. A., dated "Head-Quarters, Buffalo, April 2d, 1839," addressed to Gov. Seward, in regard to arms for the militia, etc.: "Everything appears quiet on this frontier, neither is there any indication of any hostile movements on the Canada side, or by our own misguided citizens." Letters between Rufus King, Adj. Gen. S. N. Y., and Col. W. J. Worth relate to the issuing of arms for the frontier; it was proposed to place 3000 muskets at Fort Niagara, as soon as Gen. Scott gave necessary authority.

Niagara County. 1821. History of Niagara County, N. Y., with illustrations, descriptive of its scenery, private residences, public buildings, fine blocks, and important manufactories, and portraits of old pioneers and prominent residents. New York: Sanford & Co., 36 Vesey Street, 1878. Press by Geo. Macnamara, 36 Vesey Street, N. Y.

4to. pp. 394. Ill.

Chap. xxvi, "Incidents of the Patriot War," etc. Contains an account of the steamer *Caroline* written by Captain James Van Cleve of Lewiston (p. 116). *See also* William Pool, *editor*.

NICHOLS, THOMAS L. Address delivered at Niagara Falls on the evening of the 29th of December, 1838. The anniversary of the burning of the *Caroline*. Buffalo: Printed by Charles Faxon. 1839.

8vo. pp. 14.

A *Mercury and Buffalonian Extra*. Nichols was editor of this paper.

NICHOLS, (Dr.) THOMAS L. Forty years of American life. In two volumes. Vol. i [-ii]. London. . . . MDCCCLXIV. . . .

8vo. Vol. i, pp. xii, 408; vol. ii, pp. xi, 368.

A brief account of the rebellion, pp. 52-3; chap. xii, pp. 131-141, "Buffalonians and the Navy Island war." Nichols came to Buffalo in 1837, and figured here prominently for some years, both in journalism and in jail. The pages cited offer one of the most graphic of narratives on our subject.

Niles' National Register. Weekly. Washington.

A most useful repository of contemporary report, official documents, etc., bearing on this subject; especially vol. 53 (Sept. '37-Mar. '38), and vol. 54 (Mch. '38-Sept. '38). Each is indexed. In vol. 53, for example, will be found the debate (25th Cong., 1st sess., Senate) on the bill to meet the present emergency on the Niagara frontier; reprints from sundry papers, on affairs on the Niagara, in Canada, the *Caroline* episode, Mackenzie's deeds, etc.; the proclamation of President Van Buren, Jan. 5, 1838; message of Gov. Marcy and proceedings of the Legislature relative thereto; report of the joint committee on the Governor's special message relative to the outrage at Schlosser; Gen. Scott's mission to the Niagara, and related correspondence, etc., etc.

[O—, M. M.] The Canadian Crisis, and Lord Durham's Mission to the North American Colonies: with remarks, the result of personal observation in the colonies and the United States, on the remedial measures to be adopted in the North American provinces. London: J. Rodwell, 46, New Bond Street. 1838.

8vo. pp. 56.

O'CONNELL, DANIEL. Inquiry as to effusion of blood in Canada. In House of Commons, Feb. 27, 1839. (Hansard, 3d ser., vol. 45, p. 919.)

O'CONNELL, DANIEL. Inquiry as to the hanging of 34 persons in Upper and Lower Canada, as to which no statement had been laid before the House. March 14, 1839. (Hansard, 3d ser., vol. 46, p. 627.)

O'CONNELL, DANIEL. Inquiry as to executions in Canada. March 21, 1839. (Hansard, 3d ser., vol. 46, p. 1048.)

O'Connell. *See also*: "Life and Speeches of Daniel O'Connell."

PAKINGTON, JOHN SOMERSET (*1st baron Hampton*). Speech in House of Commons. (Hansard, 3d ser., v. 40, pp. 346-352.)

His first Parliamentary speech was in debate on Canadian affairs.

PAKINGTON, J. S. Inquiry as to whether the Government intended to bring in a bill for the union of the two Canadas. In House of Commons, Feb. 14, 1840. (Hansard, 3d ser., v. 52, p. 247.)

PAKINGTON, J. S. Inquiry as to the Clergy Reserves bill. In House of Commons. (Hansard, 3d ser., v. 53, p. 230.)

PAKINGTON, J. S. Inquiry, in the House of Commons, as to whether it had been stated "in another place," that the Clergy Reserves act of the Upper Canada Legislature was illegal. (Hansard, 3d ser., v. 53, p. 1026.)

Palladium Extra. Toronto, Thursday evening, March 8, 1838.

Contains news of the battle of Pelee Island, the capture of Gen. Sutherland, etc.

PALMERSTON, (*Viscount*). [Henry John Temple, 3d *Visc. P.*] Speech in the House of Commons. March 6, 1838. (Hansard, 3d ser., vol. 41, p. 520.)

PALMERSTON, (*Viscount*). Reply to inquiry as to American ship *Caroline* by Sir R. Inglis. Feb. 2, 1858. (Hansard, 3d ser., vol. 40, p. 715.)

PARKER, JENNY MARSH. Rochester. A story historical. [*mottoes, 13 l.*] Rochester, N. Y. Scantom, Wetmore and Company, Publishers and Booksellers, 1884.

8vo. pp. viii, 412. [6].

Pp. 246-249 treat of "Doctor Mackenzie" (*sic*) and his deeds; inaccurate as to the *Caroline* affair; has interesting data regarding Mackenzie in Rochester.

Patriot Extra. Toronto, Saturday, January 6, 1838.

Contains dispatches from Col. Allan Macnab, dated Chippewa, 3d Jan. 1838; K. Cameron, A. A. Gen., headquarters at Chippewa, 3d Jan.; Henry Arcularius, commissary general, mil. stores, N. Y., dated Niagara Falls, Jan. 3 and 4; proclamation by N. Garrow, U. S. Marshal, Northern Dist. N. Y., dated Fort Schlosser, Jan. 4, calling on Americans to listen to reason and heed the laws of their country.

PEEL, (*Sir*) ROBERT. [*2d baronet.*] Speech in House of Commons. Jan. 16, 1838. (Hansard, 3d ser., vol. 40, p. 70.)

POOL, WILLIAM (*editor*). Landmarks of Niagara County, New York. Edited by William Pool. *n. p.* [Syracuse]. D. Mason & Company, publishers. 1897.

8vo. pp. vi, 447, 254.

Pp. 72-73, a meager account of the occupation of Navy Island and burning of the *Caroline*. See also Niagara County.

PRESTON, T. R. Three years' residence in Canada from 1837 to 1839. . . . London, 1840.

8vo., 2 vols.

See also review of it in *London Athenaeum*, June 6, 1840.

Proceedings of a public meeting, held at the Court House in the town of Niagara, in the Niagara district, on Saturday, 31st March, 1832, pursuant to a requisition of the sheriff. Niagara, 1832.

8vo. pp. 8.

Its relation to our subject is the striking evidence it offers of loyalty to the government, among the inhabitants of the Niagara district. An interesting example of the early press at Niagara, U. C.

Progress of Events in Canada.

London and Westminster Review, vol. 26, (1836-7): "Although the people of Upper Canada are now, through the press and otherwise freely discussing the means of establishing their independence, neither they nor their brethren of Lower Canada desire independence as an end, but merely *as a means* to good government. Give them a responsible government—that is, responsible to themselves—and we shall not hear of independence for many years to come. Deny what they ask, and who will venture to predict the result?"

PROTESTANT (A) [*pseud.*] The exclusive right of the church to the Clergy Reserves defended; in a letter to the Right Honorable the Earl of Liverpool; being an answer to the letter of a Protestant of the Church of Scotland, to his Lordship. By a Protestant. Kingston, U. C. Printed by H. C. Thomson. July, 1826.

8vo. pp. 30.

Radical Party (The) in Canada.

Quarterly Review, vol. 61. London, 1838.

Reviews the following pamphlets:

1. Remarks on the proceedings as to Canada in the present session of Parliament. By one of the Commissioners, 10th April, 1837.

Attributed to Sir Chas. Grey.

2. A Plain Statement of the Quarrel with Canada, in which is considered, who first infringed the Constitution of the Colony. London Ridgway, 1838.

3. Hints on the case of Canada, for the consideration of Members of Parliament. London, Murray, 1838.

4. The Canadian controversy; its origin, nature and merits. London, Longmans, 1838.

READ, D. B. The Canadian Rebellion of 1837. By D. B. Read, Q. C. Author of "The Lives of the Judges of Upper Canada," "Life of Lieut.-Governor Simcoe," "Life of Sir Isaac Brock." Toronto: C. Blackett Robinson. 1896.

8vo. pp. xiii, 372, [1]. Front. port, Louis Joseph Papineau.

The most comprehensive work on the subject, the facts mainly drawn from other works, though a few documents have been drawn upon; dispassionate in tone, unadorned in style.

Rebellion (The) of 1837 and Constitutional Development. *See* vol. iii of "Canada, an Encyclopaedia of the Country," edited by J. Castell Hopkins. Toronto, 1898. 5 vols.

In vol. iii, "The Rebellion of 1837 in Upper Canada," by William Canniff, M. D., pp. 19-36; and the following sketches by J. Castell Hopkins: "The Reformers' Declaration of Rights," pp. 55-59; "The Rebellion of 1837 and the United States," pp. 59-66; "Mackenzie's Proclamation from Navy Island," pp. 69-71; "Proclamations (other)," p. 72; "Upper Canadian Government View," pp. 72-85; Mackenzie's account of the Rebellion (extract from his communication from Navy Island to the editor of the *Watertown Jeffersonian*, dated Jan. 14, 1838), pp. 85-90; The British Radical view, pp. 94-96. With numerous biographical sketches.

[Religious equality in Canada:] Prospectus of the plan and principles of a society, which is proposed to be formed in Montreal for the attainment and security of universal and perfect religious liberty and equality, and for the immediate and entire abolition of all invidious distinctions in favor of one sect to the exclusion or disparagement of another. Montreal: Printed at the Courier office. 1836.

8vo. pp. 28.

By an ardent hater of the Church of England—one who, by the standards of the time, was regarded as "a republican at heart."

REMINGTON, CYRUS K[INGSBURY]. Souvenir and historical sketch, "D" Co., Buffalo City Guard. . . . Buffalo, N. Y., 1893.

Oblong, pp. 71, ill.

Relates the principal events of the rebellion on the Niagara, with documents showing the efforts which were promptly made in behalf of law and order; and traces the steps taken, Dec., 1837, to raise and arm a volunteer corps of 100 men, which became the Buffalo City Guard, the 2d company of which was the "D" Co. of 1893.

REMINGTON, WILLIAM A. The battle of Black Rock, Jan. 12, 1838.

A long poem, reprinted, with notes, in Cyrus K. Remington's "Souvenir and historical sketch," *q. v.*

Reports. Report of the select committee to which was referred the Political State of the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada. . . . Toronto, 1838.

App. to Journal, House of Assembly, sess. 1837-8; pp. 257-277. Signed by Henry Sherwood, chairman.

Reports. Report of a select committee to search the journals of the Honorable the Legislative Council in relation to the bill granting a sum of money to Honorable Colonel Macnab and Captain Drew. . . . Toronto, 1838.

App. to Journal, House of Assembly of Upper Canada, pp. 354-355.

Reports. Report from the select committee of the House of Assembly of Upper Canada, appointed to report on the state of the province. Toronto: Printed at the Patriot office. 1839.

8vo. pp. 87.

Contains a valuable review of the various raids and lawless acts that pertained to the rebellion.

Reports. Report of a select committee of the House of Assembly, on the political state of the provinces of Upper and Lower Canada. H. Sherwood, Esq., M. P. P., chairman. Printed by order of the Commons House of Assembly. R. Stanton, Printer to the Queen's most excellent Majesty. 1838.

8vo. pp. 65, [1], 16.

"In Upper Canada the riot or insurrection (it deserves not the name of rebellion,) confined to less than 1,000 out of 450,000 inhabitants, proceeded from a heedless preference to [*sic*] the democratic institutions of the neighboring Republic, on the part of a small number of worthless men, chiefly of broken fortune, who had contrived by the most gross and detestable system of falsehood and misrepresentation, to delude a few hundreds of the most ignorant and credulous of the people, to unite with them in the criminal attempt to seize upon the seat of Government, and the Public Offices, and to subvert the Constitution," etc. (p. 7.)

Reports. Report of a select committee of the Legislative Council of Upper Canada, upon the provision made by law for the support of a Protestant clergy in that province. Toronto: Printed by R. Stanton, printer. . . . 1835.

8vo. pp. 86.

Reports. Report, from the select committee of the Legislative Council of Upper Canada, on the State of the Province. Printed by order of the Honorable the Legislative Council. [Toronto:] R. Stanton, Printer to the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty. [1838.]

8vo. pp. 91, [1], 60.

Contains much of importance for the history of the period, especially in the documents in the appendices.

Reports. Report of a select committee of the Legislative Council of Upper Canada upon the complaints contained in an Address to the King, from the House of Assembly, passed 15th April, 1835, of the rejection by the Legislative Council, of bills sent from the House of Assembly; and the address of the Legislative Council to His Majesty, on that subject. Toronto: R. Stanton, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty. 1836.

8vo. pp. 52.

Includes the address to the King by Marshall S. Bidwell, Speaker of the Commons House of Assembly, setting forth the urgent need of "local responsibility" in government, etc.

Reports. Report of the select committee to which was referred the answer of His Excellency, the Lieutenant Governor, to an address of the House of Assembly, relative to a responsible executive council. Ordered by the House of Assembly to be printed. Toronto: M. Reynolds, printer, 1836.

8vo. pp. 103, appendix 77, 3.

Reports. The seventh report from the select committee of the House of Assembly of Upper Canada on Grievances; to whom were referred Lord Viscount Goderich's Despatch to His Excellency Sir John Colborne, of the 8th November, 1832. To which is added, the report from the same committee, on the petition of William Forsyth, late proprietor of the Niagara Falls Pavilion. W. L. Mackenzie, Esq., chairman. Ordered, by the House of Assembly, to be printed, (2,000 copies) 10th April, 1835. Toronto: M. Reynolds, Printer to the Hon. the House of Assembly. MDCCCXXXV.

8vo. pp. [12], 76, 2, li, [1], 372, vi, 26. [*lettered:*] A-Y.

This volume, which Lt. Gov. Head called "Mr. Mackenzie's heavy book of lamentations"—"calculated (I believe accurately) that there exist in this book more than three times as many gross falsehoods as pages!"—is the most elaborate presentation of the grievances which formed the basis of the rebellion. Head's account of its preparation is given in the "Narrative," chap i. It is charged that Mackenzie abstracted it, after the House of Assembly had ordered it printed, and incorporated with it a vast quantity of more or less relevant matter. It has become very scarce.

RIPON. (*Earl*). [Frederick John Robinson, Viscount Goderich, 1st Earl of Ripon.] Parliamentary inquiry why none of the papers published relative to Canada referred to Upper Canada, where Mr. [William Lyon] Mackenzie had already obtained temporary possession of the capital of the province [a statement which drew out cries of "no! no!"]. In House of Lords, Jan. 16, 1838. (Hansard, 3d ser., vol. 40, p. 7.) Same subject. Jan. 18, 1838. (Same vol., pp. 162 and 233.) Speech explaining his relations with W. L. Mackenzie. March 12, 1839. (Hansard, 3d series, vol. 46, p. 327.)

ROBERTS. (*Hon.*) ELLIS H. New York. . . . [American Commonwealth ser.] Boston, 1895.

2 vols. 12mo.

In vol. ii, chap. 33 contains a brief sketch of the rebellion, especially of events in New York State.

ROBERTS, CHARLES G. D. A history of Canada. Boston. . . . 1897.

8vo. pp. xi, 493, map.

Chaps. xix-xxi compass our subject. Special attention is paid to the case of Lt. Gov. Maitland and Forsyth's obnoxious attempt to fence in Niagara Falls. Such phrases as: "The American border cities were eager in Mackenzie's cause," indicate either carelessness or superficial knowledge of the subject.

ROBINSON, JOHN BEVERLY. Canada and the Canada bill. . . . 1840.
Not seen.

ROEBUCK, JOHN ARTHUR (*editor, with others*). The Canadian Portfolio. Conducted by John Arthur Roebuck, Esq., and other friends of Canada. This work will contain a faithful exposition of the causes that have produced the civil war in Canada, together with the various official documents necessary to elucidate and support the history of this disgraceful contest. London: Published by Charles Fox, 67 Paternoster Row. Price 6d. To be continued every Thursday, for a limited time.

8vo. pp. 168. Nos. 1-5; No. 1, Jan. 4, 1838. No. 5, Jan. 23, 1838.

Reviewed at length, *London and Westminster Review*, vol. 6 and 28, London, 1837-8.

R[OEBUCK], J[OHN] A[RTHUR]. The Canadas and their grievances. *London Review*, vol. i. London, 1835.

ROEBUCK, J. A. Existing difficulties in the government of the Canadas. London, 1836.

8vo. pp. 68.

ROLPH, JOHN. The speech of the Hon. John Rolph, M. P. P., delivered on the occasion of the late inquiry into charges of high misdemeanors, at the late elections, preferred against his excellency Sir Francis Bond Head, before the Commons House of Assembly of Upper Canada. Simcoe: Printed at the "Norfolk Messenger" office. 1851.

8vo. pp. 51.

Another ed.: "Toronto: Printed by M. Reynolds, Cor. & Adv. office, 1837"; 8vo. pp. 38, 2 cols. to the page. The speech was delivered Monday, Jan. 30, 1837.

ROLPH (*Dr.*) JOHN and HAGERMAN. Speeches of Dr. John Rolph, and Christoph'r A. Hagerman, Esq. His Majesty's Solicitor General, on the bill for appropriating the proceeds of the Clergy Reserves to the purposes of general education. 1st session, 13th Parliament. Toronto: Printed by M. Reynolds, Cor. & Adv. office, 1837.

8vo. pp. 32. (double-col. pages.)

Rolph, John. Sketch of:

Appleton's Cyclopaedia or American Biography, vol. v.

Dictionary of National Biography, vol. xlix: "He took a prominent part in organizing the executive committee at Buffalo and in planning an invasion to Canada." When the whole movement collapsed he fled to Russia.

H. J. Morgan's "Sketches of Celebrated Canadians."

ROLPH, (*Dr.*) THOMAS. A brief account, together with observations, made during a visit in the West Indies, and a tour through the United States of America, in parts of the years 1832-3; together with a statistical account of Upper Canada. By Dr. Thomas

Rolph, Ancaster, Gore District, Upper Canada. Dundas, U. C. G. Heyworth Hackstaff, printer. 1836.

8vo. pp. 272, [16, 1 slip *errata*.]

One of the scarce early Upper Canada imprints, valuable in the present connection for the view which it affords of the condition of the province at the time of Mackenzie's agitation. It fiercely attacks Mackenzie for his alleged attempt to alienate the Indians from British allegiance: "Could not this restless demagogue be contented with disturbing, distracting, cursing the farmers by his unceasing, pernicious and pestiferous interference, but that he must also endeavor to divert the Indians from their progressive improvement, to commence his trade and speculation of agitation among them?" etc. The "Supplementary Account" following p. 272 (16 pp. unnumbered) is largely given up to this subject, with Mackenzie's petition, the address of the House of Assembly to Sir Francis Bond Head, and his Excellency's reply, hoping "for the sake of the loyal, well disposed, peaceable Indians of Upper Canada, that they may long remain free from Mr. Mackenzie's interference in their regard, for if that unfortunate day should ever arrive, it would be to them as to all others, with whose concerns he has intermeddled," etc.

ROSS, ROBERT B. *The Patriot War*.

Published serially in the *Detroit Evening News* during 1890. Revised by the author for the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, and printed in vol. xxi of its *Publications*, pp. 509-612. Lansing, Mich., 1894.

Unexcelled for the fullness of its detail regarding the operations of the Patriots, especially at the western end of Lake Erie and on the Detroit. Considerable attention is paid to the Niagara campaign, and much information given about those who shared in it. Appended to Mr. Ross's history are short narratives and various memoranda by Maj. Benj. Wait (*see* Wait), then living at Grand Rapids, Mich.; T. B. McCormick; Rush R. Sloane; Gen. Andrew T. McReynolds; A. Sheley; Don M. Dickinson; D. Bethune Duffield; E. N. Willcox and E. J. Pierce; the last contributes data about Benjamin Lett, who shared in the Navy Island campaign, and afterwards blew up the first monument to Gen. Brock on Queenston Heights—of which, by the way, W. L. Mackenzie had laid the corner-stone. Here, too, are printed Col. John Maitland's official report of the battle of Pelee Island, obtained from the records of the British War Office through the assistance of the late Sir Julian Pauncefote, British Ambassador to the United States; and an account of the battle of Prescott, a reprint from Barber's *Pictorial History of the State of New York*, pp. 609-612; Barber took the narrative from Theller.

RUSSELL, (*Lord*) JOHN. Reply to inquiry of Sir R. Inglis as to American ship *Caroline*. In House of Commons, Feb. 2, 1838. (Hansard, 3d ser., vol. 40, p. 715.)

RUSSELL, (*Lord*) JOHN. Speech advocating union of the two Canadas. House of Commons, June 3, 1839. (Hansard, 3d series,

vol. 47, p. 1254.) The debate was continued at length, many members participating. Same subject resumed, June 13, 1839. (Hansard, 3d ser., vol. 48, p. 206.) Leave voted to bring in two bills.

RUSSELL, (*Lord*) JOHN. Speech advocating the union of the two Canadas. March 23, 1840. (Hansard, 3d ser., v. 52, p. 1323.)

RUSSELL, (*Lord*) JOHN. Reply to Mr. Pakington's inquiry of same date as to whether the Government intended to bring in a bill for the union of the two Canadas. Feb. 14, 1840. (Hansard, 3d ser., v. 52, p. 247.)

RUSSELL, (*Lord*) JOHN. In reply to inquiry of Mr. Pakington, as to whether it had been said that the Clergy Reserves act of the Upper Canada Legislature was illegal. [Lord John said the Ministers would consult the law officers of the Government.] (Hansard, 3d ser., v. 53, p. 1026.)

RUSSELL, (*Lord*) JOHN. Speech in support of motion for leave to bring in bill to divide the Canadian Clergy Reserves among several denominations. [Debate followed and the motion was agreed to.] May 28, 1840. (Hansard, 3d ser., v. 54, p. 701.)

RUSSELL, (*Lord*) JOHN, *and others*. Debate on second reading of Canadian Government bill. April 13, 1840. Hansard, v. 53, p. 1053.) Debate on third reading of the bill for the union of the two Canadas; motion for third reading carried. June 12, 1840. (Hansard, 3d ser., v. 54, p. 1115.) Final debate and passage of Canadian Government bill, providing for union. June 18, 1840. (Hansard, 3d ser., v. 54, p. 1263.)

Clergy Reserves division bill passed House of Commons, July 29, 1840. (Hansard, 3d ser., v. 55, p. 1104.)

Russell. The life of Lord John Russell. By Spencer Walpole. London, 1891.

8vo., 2 vols., 2 ports.

In vol. i, Origin of the rebellion in Canada, p. 306; Lord Durham's mission and line of action, pp. 319-320.

[RYERSON, (*Rev.*) ADOLPHUS EGERTON (*D. D.*)]. The affairs of the Canadas in a series of letters to the London Times. By a Canadian. London, 1837.

8vo. pp. 75.

"This work, published anonymously, immediately attracted attention. The consequence was that inquiry at an early period made the name of the author known."—KINGSFORD.

[RYERSON (*Rev.*) A. E.] The cause and circumstances of Mr. Bidwell's banishment by Sir F. B. Head. Correctly stated and proved by a United Empire Loyalist. Kingston, 1838.

First printed in the *Upper Canada Herald*, May 29, 1838.

RYERSON (*Rev.*) A. E. (*D. D.*). The Clergy Reserves Question as a matter of history, a question of law and a subject of legislation, in a series of letters to the Hon. W. H. Draper. Toronto, 1839.

12mo. pp. 156.

SAINT-PIERRE, T. The Americans and Canada in 1817-38. Authentic documents compiled by T. Saint-Pierre. Montreal. A. P. Pigeon, printer, 1798 St. Catharine Street. 1897.

12mo. pp. 58.

SANDON. (*Viscount*). Speech in House of Commons. March 6, 1838. (Hansard, 3d ser., vol. 41, p. 520.)

SCADDING, HENRY (*D.D.*) Toronto of old: collections and recollections illustrative of the early settlement and social life of the capital of Ontario. By Henry Scadding, D.D. [*cut.*] Toronto: Adam, Stevenson & Co., 1873.

8vo., pp. xii, 594. Ports.

Contains many references to Wm. L. Mackenzie—printed indiscriminately Mackenzie, McKenzie, MacKenzie—with anecdotes of his activities in Toronto prior to the rebellion of '37; the entire work an invaluable exposition of conditions in Toronto and Upper Canada, for the most part prior to the outbreak; but offering little of direct bearing on our subject.

SCOTT, CHARLES. Thoughts on the government, union, danger, wants and wishes, of the Canadas; and on the proper line of policy of the British Parliament in these respects: being a letter to Mr. Hitchings of Toronto, occasioned by, and containing strictures on, one addressed to him by Dr. Dunlop, conveying his thoughts on the subject of Responsible Government. By Charles Scott. [*quot. 71.*] Montreal: Printed for the author by Campbell & Becket; and sold by the booksellers of Montreal, Quebec, Toronto and Kingston. 1839.

8vo. pp. 135.

SCOTT [WINFIELD]. Memoirs of Lieut.-General Scott, LL.D. Written by himself. . . . New York. . . . 1864.

8vo., 2 vols.

Vol. i, pp. 305-328, gives the story of the outbreak of '37-'38 on the Niagara, quoted almost *verbatim* from Mansfield's life of Scott, *q. v.*

Scott, (*Lt. Gen.*) Winfield, The life of. By Edward Mansfield, Esq. New York. . . . 1846.

12mo., pp. x, 366; port, maps and ills.

Chap. xviii, 1837-'39: narrates the outbreak of trouble on the Niagara, the attack on the Caroline, the coming of Gen. Scott and Gov. Marcy; with an account of the measures taken by Scott to preserve international peace. A curious engraving shows Scott at Black Rock watching the steamer Barcelona in the Niagara. Scott so approved of Mansfield's account of him in this service that he reprinted most of it in his memoirs.

Scott, W[infield] and Andrew Jackson, The lives of, by J. T. Headley. . . . New York, 1852.

Pp. 66-69 present a brief and inaccurate account of the affairs of the Caroline and Barcelona, and of Scott's mission to the Niagara.

SCROPE, G. PARLETT, *editor*. See Sydenham.

Servos Family (The) in the Upper Canada Rebellion.—See William Kirby's "The Servos Family," pp. 10-11. Lundy's Lane Historical Society *Publications*.

Seventh Report of the Grievance Committee of the Legislature of Upper Canada, etc. See Reports.

SEVERANCE, FRANK H. Old Trails on the Niagara Frontier. By Frank H. Severance, Buffalo, N. Y. MDCCCXCIX.

12mo. pp. xii, 321. *Front*.

Pp. 195-223, "The Misadventures of Robert Marsh," a narrative drawn from Marsh's own book, with data from other sources relating to the rebellion and the life of political exiles in Van Dieman's Land. See Robert Marsh.

SHEPARD, EDWARD M. See Martin Van Buren.

Short Hills (The) Affair. See Journal House of Assembly, session 1839, vol. ii, part 2, appendix. Toronto, 1839.

Pp. 624-651, "Documents . . . on the prisoners taken at the Short Hills, Niagara District . . ."

Short Hills Prisoners. Documents, sent down by Message from His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor, on the subject of the prisoners taken at the Short Hills, Niagara District.

Appendix to Journal, House of Assembly, vol. ii, part 2d, pp. 624-651.

Includes five letters, Lord Durham to Sir George Arthur, and five, Sir George to Lord Durham, of dates from Aug. 16, 1838, to Oct. 9, 1838, regarding treatment of prisoners under sentence, including James Moreau (afterwards hanged at Niagara, U. C.), McLeod, Wait and others.

SLOANE (*Hon.*) RUSH R. The Patriotic War of 1837-8, and some of the causes leading thereto.

The *Firelands Pioneer*, new series, vol. viii. Norwalk, O. Oct., 1895.

Address delivered June 12, 1895, at the annual meeting of the Firelands Historical Society in Norwalk, Ohio.

SMITH, GOLDWIN. Canada and the Canadian Question. By Goldwin Smith, D. C. L. With map. London and New York. Macmillan and Co. Toronto: Hunter, Rose and Co. 1891. All rights reserved.

8vo. pp. x, 325.

In chap. vi, "History of Upper Canada," the causes and character of the Rebellion of '37-'38 are set forth with Dr. Smith's characteristic force and clearness. He shows how the government of the upper province, including the disposal of the Crown lands, had fallen into the hands of the Family Compact, which was "a social aristocracy as well as a political ring"; shows how the arrogant policy of this oligarchy hastened the evolution of a Reform party, and points out the issues on which this party pre-

sently based its demand for "Responsible Government," the shibboleth of the Canadian reformer of the period. The influence exerted by the successive Lieutenant Governors, Sir Peregrine Maitland, Sir John Colborne and Sir Francis Bond Head, is pointed out. The outrages in Toronto and the filibustering events of the Niagara frontier are briefly sketched. Goldwin Smith has ever a judicial pen, and his impartial, dispassionate characterizations alike of rebels and of lieutenants of the Crown, give his pages on the Upper Canadian Rebellion a value far in excess of many more voluminous treatises on the subject. Chaps. vi and vii, the latter treating of Lord Durham's mission and the union of the provinces, are an admirable basis of information for the student on a subject which for detail of events can be better pursued in other works, but scarcely so for a brief presentation of the philosophy of the movement; nor does the author fail to call attention to it as one phase of the general ascendancy of liberal opinions which, dating from 1830, is seen in the history of France, of England and the world at large.

SMITH, H. PERRY (*editor*). History of the City of Buffalo and Erie County, with illustrations and biographical sketches of some of its prominent men and pioneers. In two volumes. Edited by H. Perry Smith. Syracuse, N. Y.: D. Mason & Co., publishers. 1884.

8vo. vol. i, pp. 776; vol. ii, pp. 554, 130.

Vol. i, chap. xxii, sketches the incidents of the rebellion on the Niagara and in Buffalo, the account largely taken verbatim from Johnson's "Centennial History of Erie County."

SMITH, W. H. Canada: Past, present and future. Being a historical, geographical, geological and statistical account of Canada West, by W. H. Smith, author of the Canadian Gazetteer; containing ten county maps, and one general map of the province, compiled expressly for the work. Vol. i [ii]. Toronto: Thomas Maclear, 45 Yonge Street. *n. d.* [1851.]

2 vols. 8vo.; vol. i, pp. cxxiv, 290, (business directory) 80, 24; engraved title-page before the title: "Canada, past, present and future" . . . , fine view of Niagara Falls. Vol. ii, pp. xxiv, 544, (business directory con.) 81-184.

In vol. i, pp. xcvi-cv present a condensed history of the rebellion, touching on the causes, and sketching the legislation that followed, to the time of the union.

Speeches and debates, British Parliament. *See* Lord Brougham, Viscount Duncannon, Earl of Durham, Lord Ellenborough, Bishop of Exeter, Lord Glenelg, Sir Chas. Edw. Grey, Joseph Hume, Sir R. Inglis, Henry Labouchere, Viscount Melbourne, Daniel O'Connell, John Somerset Pakington, Viscount Palmerston, Sir Robt. Peel, Earl of Ripon, Lord John Russell, Sir Nicholas C. Tindal, Queen Victoria, Duke of Wellington, William, Archb. of Canterbury.

STRACHAN, JOHN (*D. D.*). A speech of the Venerable John Strachan. D. D., Archdeacon of York, in the legislative council, Thursday

sixth March, 1828: on the subject of the Clergy Reserves. Published by request. York, U. C. Printed by Robert Stanton. [1828.]

8vo. pp. 43.

[SULLIVAN, — —]. Letters on Responsible Government. By Legion. Toronto: Printed at the Examiner office, 1844.

8vo. pp. viii, 216, xvi.

SUTHERLAND, TH: JEFFERSON. A canvass of the proceedings on the trial of William Lyon Mackenzie, for an alleged violation of the neutrality laws of the United States; with a report of the testimony—the charge of the presiding judge to the jury—the arguments of the United States attorney—and a petition to the President for his release. By Th: Jefferson Sutherland. New York: Sackett & Sargent, printers. No. 1 Nassau Street, corner of Wall. 1840.

16mo. pp. 104.

SUTHERLAND, TH: JEFFERSON. A letter to Her Majesty the British Queen, with letters to Lord Durham, Lord Glenelg and Sir George Arthur: To which is added an appendix embracing a report of the testimony taken on the trial of the writer by a court martial, at Toronto in Upper Canada. By Th: Jefferson Sutherland. Albany: Printed by C. Van Benthuyzen. 1841.

12mo. pp. 167, [1].

SUTHERLAND, TH: JEFFERSON. A letter to Lord Brougham, in behalf of the captive Patriots. To which is annexed a list of their names. By Th: Jefferson Sutherland. New York. 1841.

12mo. pp. 12.

SYDENHAM (*Lord*). Memoir of the life of the right honourable Charles Lord Sydenham, G. C. B. With a narrative of his administration in Canada. Edited by his brother, G. Poulett Scrope, Esq., M. P. 2d ed. London, 1844.

Lord Sydenham came out to Canada in 1839; in his administration the demand for "responsible government" began to be answered, the resolutions on the union of the provinces were carried, and the Clergy Reserves question—the greatest grievance of Upper Canada—was settled. Lord Sydenham's memoirs include an account of his visit to Niagara Falls.

THELLER, E. A. Canada in 1837-38, showing, by historical facts, the causes of the late attempted revolution, and of its failure; the present condition of the people, and their future prospects, together with the personal adventures of the author, and others who were connected with the revolution. By E. A. Theller, Brigadier-General in the Canadian Republican service. [*motto*, 3 l.] In two volumes. Vol. i [-ii]. Philadelphia: Henry F. Anners. New York:—J. & H. G. Langley. 1841.

12mo. vol. i, pp. 264; vol. ii, pp. 316.

Of Theller Dent says: "A mendacious Irish-American who had taken part with the insurgents in 1837 and '38, and had him-

self been a prisoner in Canada."—*Last Forty Years*, etc., vol. i, ch. ix, pp. 186-8, note. Of Theller's book Dent says: "As a narrative it is not deficient in interest, but as a contribution to history it is utterly untrustworthy, the writer's mendacity and want of judgment being constantly apparent. . . . Some years after the publication of his work on the Canadian Rebellion Dr. Theller removed to California, where he engaged in journalism, and became superintendent of public schools. He died at Hornitos, Cal., in 1859." See John W. Barber and Henry Howe.

THOMPSON, SAMUEL. *Reminiscences of a Canadian Pioneer for the last fifty years. An autobiography.* By Samuel Thompson, formerly editor of the "Toronto Daily Colonist," the "Parliamentary Hansard," &c., &c. Toronto: Hunter, Rose & Company. MDCCCLXXXIV.

12mo. pp. vii [i], 392.

Chap. 24, "Toronto during the Rebellion," includes a narrative communicated to the author by one who was an eye-witness, during the time when Mackenzie was in command of the rebel force in Yonge Street; chap. 25 treats of "The victor and vanquished"; chap. 26, of events growing out of the rebellion; and there are other references to Mackenzie and his times. A valuable addition to the literature of the subject.

TINDAL, (Sir) [Nicholas Conyngham], (*Chief Justice*). Statement that the judges are agreed that the Upper Canada Legislature have exceeded their powers in passing the Clergy Reserves act. May 4, 1840. (Hansard, 3d ser., v. 53, p. 1156.)

TODD, ALPHEUS (LL.D., C.M.G.). *Parliamentary Government in the British Colonies.* . . . Second edition. . . . London. . . . 1894.

8vo., pp. xvii, 929.

Chap. iii, "Historical account of the introduction of Parliamentary Government into the colonies of Great Britain," includes an outline of events in the upper province consequent on the rebellion.

Toronto: past and present, historical and descriptive, a memorial volume of the semi-centennial of 1884. . . . Toronto, 1884.

4to., ill.

Contains considerable regarding Mackenzie and the rebellion.

True Briton (The) of the Nineteenth Century. [*woodcut* with motto: "Fear God and honour the Queen."] Canadian Patriots and English Chartists. A correspondence between Mr. Steady, an English farmer, and his brother in Canada. London: Walter & Co., publishers, 91 Fleet Street, 1840. . . .

8vo. pp. 27 [1].

TUTTLE, CHARLES R. *Short history of the Dominion of Canada.* . . . Boston. . . . 1878.

8vo. pp. 666.

Chap. xvii, "The Canadas, 1780-1840," gives a condensed account of the rebellion.

UNITED (A) EMPIRE LOYALIST. [*pseud.*] Sir F. B. Head and Mr. Bidwell. The cause and circumstances of Mr. Bidwell's banishment by Sir F. B. Head, correctly stated and proved by A United Empire Loyalist. [*quot. 5 l.*] Kingston. Printed by T. H. Bentley, Herald office, 1838.

8vo. pp. 16, 2 cols. to the page.

UNITED (A) EMPIRE LOYALIST. [*pseud.*] See Rev. A. E. Ryerson, Upper Canada Gazette, Extraordinary. By Authority. Toronto, Tuesday, December 4, 1838.

Broadside, signed by Sir George Arthur, proclaiming Dec. 14, 1838, a day of public fasting and humiliation; with prayers for protection against the "machinations of Domestic Traitors, and Foreign Foes."

URQUHART, DAVID. Case of Mr. McLeod, in whose person the Crown of Great Britain is arraigned for felony. [*motto, 1 l.*] By David Urquhart, Esq. London: John Reid and Co. 1841.

8vo. pp. viii, 138.

2d ed. revised, London, 1841.

3d ed. revised, London, 1841. 8vo. pp. 160.

VAN BUREN, M[ARTIN]. [Steamboat Caroline.] Message from the President of the United States transmitting the information required by a resolution of the House of Representatives of the 21st ultimo, respecting the capture and destruction of the steamboat Caroline, on the night of the 29th December last, &c. [Doc. No. 302, H. of R., Exec. 25th Congress, 2d session,] Apr. 5, 1838.

8vo. pp. 63.

Includes a large number of communications, official reports, correspondence, &c.

VAN BUREN, MARTIN (*President U. S.*). Messages to the Senate and House of Representatives, with documents. (*Following references are to pages in vol. iii, James D. Richardson's "Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents. . . . Washington, 1896."*)

Jan. 5, 1838: Calling attention to need of a law to prevent and punish hostile invasion from the U. S. of friendly neighboring territory; and transmitting letter from N. Ganon [*sic: Garrow*], U. S. Marshal, written at Buffalo, Dec. 28, '37; pp. 399-400.

Jan. 8, 1838: Asking for action and appropriations to meet the emergency on the frontier towards Canada; with many communications: Dist. Atty. H. W. Rogers, Buffalo, Dec. 30, 1837, to the President; history of the Caroline outrage, affidavits, etc.; Secy. of War J. R. Poinsett to Gen. Scott; Poinsett to Gov. Marcy; Secy. of State John Forsyth to Henry S. Fox, British Minister at Washington, etc., pp. 401-404.

Apr. 5, 1838: Transmitting report from Secy. of State Forsyth, with letters from Geo. W. Pratt of Rochester, Minister Fox

to Secy. Forsyth, Lt. Gov. Head to Fox (ver. full statement of the Caroline affair, and current events of the rebellion, from his point of view); and others, pp. 459-466.

June 7, 1838: Recommending appropriation to satisfy a claim of services rendered, in preventing the arming and enlisting of men to invade Canada, p. 477.

Jan. 5, 1838: Proclamation, urging citizens to heed the neutrality laws, refrain from violence, etc., p. 481. [See also, Statutes at Large (Little, Brown & Co.), vol. xi, p. 784.]

Dec. 3, 1838: Second annual message; dealing at some length with the situation on the frontier and relations with Canada and Great Britain, pp. 485-487.

Feb. 6, 1839: Transmitting to the Senate report from the Secy. of State, with documents, relating to the demand upon the British Government for satisfaction for the burning of the steamboat Caroline, p. 515.

Dec. 2, 1839: Third annual message, treating of the political status consequent on the rebellion, p. 532.

Jan. 2, 1841: Transmitting to the House of Representatives correspondence between the Secy. of State and British minister, on the Caroline affair, pp. 623-624.

Van Buren, Martin. The life and times of Martin Van Buren; the correspondence of his friends, family and pupils; together with brief notices, sketches and anecdotes, illustrative of the public career of Martin Van Buren. . . . By William L. Mackenzie. . . . Boston: Cooke & Co., Washington Street. 1846.

8vo., pp. xii, 308.

Van Buren, Martin. By Edward M. Shepard. [Am. Statesman Series.] Boston, 1896.

Chap. x, pp. 301-306.

VAN CLEVE (*Capt.*) JAMES. [Account of steamer Caroline.] See Niagara County, N. Y.

Van Diemen's Land (during detention of the American and Canadian exiles, under Sir John Franklin's administration)—See the following:

Franklin, (*Sir*) John, Life of, by H. D. Traill. . . . London, 1896; chap. xiv, "Tasmania, 1836-42"; xv, "The Colonial Governor"; xvi, "Tasmanian Incidents."

—— and the Romance of the Northwest Passage, by G. Barnett Smith. . . . New York, *n. d.* Chap. v, "Franklin as a Colonial Governor."

—— By A. H. Beesly, M. A. . . . London, 1881. Chap. xii, "Franklin in Tasmania."

Van Diemen's Land. See also, for data regarding Great Britain's penal methods there and in Australia: "Van Diemen's Land, moral, physical and political," by David Burn in the *Colonial Magazine*, London, 1840-'41; Rev. Henry Phibbs Fry's "Penal Discipline," [London?]; Marcus Clarke's "Stories of Australia in

the Early Days." London, 1897; Capt. A. Machonochie's "Thoughts on convict management . . .," Hobart Town, [1838?]; Charles Rowcroft's "The Bushrangers of Van Diemen's Land," 3 v., London, 1846. This list might be much extended; but although illustrating conditions in Van Diemen's Land while a penal colony, this class of books contains little relating specifically to the American and Canadian convicts.

VAN RENSSELAER, RENSSELAER. Own Notes on His Military Life.

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Whatever her husband's character or abilities may have been, this volume shows Mrs. Wait to have been a woman of exceptional force of character. She was untiring in her efforts to secure a pardon for her husband, going to London in order to bring his case to the personal notice of the young Queen. It is not improbable that her unceasing solicitations, in England and afterwards in Canada, had some effect in hastening pardons or modified sentences for the political exiles. She was aided in her efforts by Jesse Ketchum, then resident in Toronto, and by friends in Buffalo, where she was for a time during her husband's exile. He escaped from Van Dieman's Land on an American whaler, and found his wife at Niagara Falls, where she was teaching school. She died May 31, 1843. Wait again married, 1845, Rebecca Seeley of Elmira, and died Nov. 9, 1895, at Grand Rapids, Mich., aged 82. His book, though the commonest of the group of narratives of exile to which it belongs, is rarely to be met with.

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